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SAMOTHRACE: SIXTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

(PLATES 1-9)

THIS report will present some major results and finds of the sixth campaign of excavations in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace¹ carried out by the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during the summer of 1951.

We continued our gradual exploration of the core of the vast sanctuary. In the preceding campaigns,² we have fully excavated the northern two-thirds of this most important section of the sanctuary: progressing from the archaic initiation hall,

¹ The campaign lasted from June 17 to August 30. The staff under my direction was again composed as follows: Dr. Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Associate Professor at Smith College, our assistant field director; Mr. Stuart M. Shaw, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who directs the architectural work and was assisted by Mr. Alec Daykin, instructor in architecture at the University of Sheffield, England; Mr. Thomas Todd of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Mr. A. C. Thompson, B. A. Princeton University, and Miss Elaine Loeffler, B. A. Smith College, both students at the Institute, joined our staff as did Mr. Denys Spittle of the Royal Commission for Monuments, England, who assisted in the architectural work. We are particularly indebted to the institutions concerned, Sheffield University and the Royal Commission, as well as to The Metropolitan Museum of Art for generous leaves granted to the above-mentioned members of their staffs.

Mr. A. Vavritzos, inspector of antiquities in Mytilene, served as representative of the Greek government and we are highly appreciative of his pleasant coöperation and practical skill.

Our invaluable foreman, Georgios Nikolaidēs, was again a main pillar of our enterprise and we had once more at our disposal the great experience of our restorer, Kontogeorgios. All these helpers have been instrumental in the successful accomplishment of our task. I am at a loss to state how many of the observations incorporated in this report are due to one or another of them.

We had the pleasure of visits from Georges Daux, Director of the French School in Athens and Mrs. Daux; John L. Caskey, Director of the American School and Mrs. Caskey; Frank E. Brown, Director of the Classical School of the American Academy in Rome and Mrs. Brown. The keen observations and, in each case, singular experience of these distinguished visitors have greatly added to our knowledge.

The officers of the Royal Greek Government, New York University, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the American Express Company, the Musée du Louvre have helped us in varied ways as in the past.

Above all, we owe continued gratitude to our generous sponsor, the Bollingen Foundation, which, at the beginning of 1951, renewed its grant and, accounting for the considerable increase in costs, generously added to its subsidy.

A great number of individuals have, again, given us their invaluable assistance in a variety of ways: Aziz Bey, John D. Barrett, J. Bousquet, E. Brooks, Jean Charbonneaux, W. W. S. Cook, Elsbeth Dusenbery, F. Eichler, P. J. Eustathiades, J. Feratēl, Alison Frantz, Jiri Frel, Christos and Semni Karousos, James L. Madden, A. K. Orlandos, B. D. Meritt, D. Papaeustratiou, L. Robert, Lucy T. Shoe, Ephraim Shorr, Lucy Talcott, Homer A. Thompson, Eugene Vanderpool, C. Bradford Welles.

² See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 19 ff.

Hesperia, XXII, 1.

the Anaktoron, through the area of the great rotunda of Queen Arsinoe, to what we have called the "Central Terrace" with its fourth century B.C. precinct for sacred ceremonies, to the area in front of the great Hellenistic marble building known as the "New Temple" which, by 1950, had also been completely excavated (Pl. 9).

In 1951, we attacked the region between this building and the river bed that forms the western boundary of the heart of the sanctuary. In this area, preceding observation and partial excavation had given evidence of the existence of a large but enigmatic structure adjacent to the southern, rear part of the "New Temple" and to a theatre built against the slope of the hill beyond the river bed and beneath both the precinct of the Victory of Samothrace and the southern end of the long stoa which crowned that westernmost hill of the sanctuary. The region to the west and northwest of the northern, front half of the "New Temple" was entirely unexplored. In it we discovered, to our surprise, the ruin of a hitherto unknown building, an early and in many respects extremely important structure which was completely uncovered during this season. At the end of the campaign, we began a full excavation of the large previously mentioned structure to the south with equally unexpected results. This report will deal mainly with these two structures and the finds made in connection with them. These finds, as well as other incidental discoveries, add considerably to our knowledge of the history of Samothrace and her cult. But they also include important documents, written and artistic alike, the discovery of which has rewarded our labor. We have gained a new idea of the wealth of this sanctuary—long regarded as almost entirely Hellenistic—in its early, archaic, phase and in the fourth century B.C. While these discoveries emphasize the early and continued popularity of the public worship of the Samothracian gods, we have also found important new clues to the character of the mystery rites which added to their fame.

At the beginning of our work to the west of the "New Temple," a wilderness of débris and overgrowth covered the entire region. From it emerged a gigantic dump hill of earth, also overgrown during the last eighty years, from the Austrian excavation of the "New Temple." It filled the entire space between the northern half of the building and the river bed for a length of about 18 m. and, rising to a height considerably greater than that of the adjacent ruins, it was an ugly blot on the valley of the sanctuary. We decided to remove it and to transport the earth out of the excavation zone. This work, tedious as it was, absorbed almost three weeks of our chief energy. Under the dump and at its periphery, we found fallen débris from the marble superstructures of the adjacent buildings, the "New Temple" to the east and the previously mentioned structure to the south. These blocks lay partly in the position into which they had fallen in the final catastrophe of the sanctuary in the sixth century after Christ,³ partly where they had been shifted and piled up by later agricultural laborers, stone robbers, and excavators. Intermingled with this débris

³ See G. Downey, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 21 ff.

were building stones of limestone material and roof tiles from a large building,⁴ the foundations and floor of which gradually emerged, to our surprise, almost completely preserved, with the exception of the northwestern corner of the foundation and the northernmost section of the floor (Pls. 1b and 7a, left; 9).

The building was rectangular and roughly parallel to the "New Temple" from which it was separated by a lane of *ca.* 3 m. width. It had an extension of 22.60 m. north-south and 10.70 m. east-west. The foundation walls of fieldstone and large-size rocks vary in thickness from 0.50 m. on the eastern, and 0.63 m. on the southern, to 1.10 m. on the northern and 1.43 m. on the western sides. This variation is partly to be explained by a desire to increase the solidity of the foundation and to use it to buttress the inner earth fill according to the slope of the steeply descending natural soil on which it is built; while immediately to the east of the building the bedrock emerges to the top of the foundation, it descends rapidly towards the river bed to the west and northwest, more gently towards the southwest. The long western side of the building towards the river valley was marked as the façade by a step⁵ of 0.70 m. width, the limestone euthynteria slabs of which are still preserved in a continuous row near the southwestern corner beneath the level of the stereobate of the wall, some stones of which are also still *in situ* (Pl. 2a).

On the northernmost of these stereobate blocks, a deep cutting is preserved, evidently for the wooden facing of an anta.⁶ It results from this that the western façade had an open colonnade between lateral spur walls *ca.* 3.40 m. long. We have found one fragment of a Doric capital in this region. The façade may have had six Doric columns between the antae. The other three sides of the building evidently had closed walls, conceivably provided with doors or windows. The ground plan, thus, is that of a deep stoa or rather a lesche.

We have found many completely preserved wall blocks and masses of fragments. Most of them, as well as the euthynteria of the façade, are made of a building material so far unique in Samothrace, a very fine, soft gray marine limestone⁷ which is easily cut. This material was also used for the capitals of the façade, the pediments and cornices. Only in the orthostate dado of the walls (0.54 m. high) is a hard native porphyry used.

⁴ It seems possible that the Austrian excavators incidentally saw parts of the eastern foundation. In the plan in *Archaeologische Untersuchungen in Samothrake* (hereafter *S*), I, Vienna, 1875, pp. 14, 49, fig. 15 (C) some stones appear to the west of the northern part of the "New Temple." It is said, however, that no building but only a paved terrace could have existed in this region.

⁵ Such an outer step along the façade of a stoa is known in one of the few preserved archaic stoai (see below, p. 5, note 18) in Samos (E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 55). There, the earlier stoa, *ibid.*, p. 22, has a broad paved platform in front of the façade.

⁶ Compare the somewhat different cuttings for the wooden facing of an anta in the Heraion in Olympia: *Olympia*, II, Berlin, 1892, pls. 18, 23.

⁷ We are indebted to Drs. Fredrich Pough and Otto Haas of the American Museum of Natural History in New York for identification of the stone material.

The blocks of the wall show a great variety of sizes, ranging from 0.41 m. in height to a miniature size of only 0.10 to 0.12 m., with many intermediate sizes. The small stones are brick-shaped. On a number of blocks, one can observe cuttings—horizontal as well as vertical—for wooden ties⁸ that were inserted in the walls. It seems clear, thus, that the walls were built in ashlar courses of changing height which gradually decrease in height as the wall rises and are held together in part by wooden ties. A decrease in the size of blocks in the upper parts of walls has been observed in other archaic Greek structures.⁹ Here the combination of a wooden framework and the mudbrick size of the upper wall blocks illustrates the transition from pre-monumental to solid stone structure in a novel fashion.

Not a fragment was found that could be attributed to either the architrave or the frieze of the façade, and it seems likely that they were of wood¹⁰ with a possible use, in the frieze, of mudbricks or small stones.

The building had a saddle roof covered with tiles of the type having kalypteres of semicircular section and had the remarkable span of 8.59 m. (inner width).¹¹ Many fragments of the southern pediment are preserved. Like the walls, it was built up of small ashlar blocks, having triangular pieces along its sloping upper edges save for some rectangular blocks with inclined upper faces near the corners (Pl. 2b).¹²

Several blocks and numerous fragments of the grey limestone cornice are preserved (Pl. 2b). They are of the "Ionic" type which, however, also survived in Greek Doric architecture in the raking geisa of pediments. The type itself is evidently a stone successor of a projecting¹³ eavestile with a "Wassernase." Some of these geisa belong to the southern pediment but others show an oblique upper face which seems to point to their having continued on the long sides where such light stones could easily have been used over the wooden architrave and frieze. It seems likely that there was no horizontal geison under the pediment, that the pediment was simply the

⁸ Compare: *Olympia*, II, pl. 23 (Heraion) for horizontal ties.

⁹ See W. B. Dinsmoor, *B. C. H.*, XXXVII, 1913, p. 26.

¹⁰ This was still the case in the Athenian Stoa in Delphi, and has been suggested by Courby for the Naxian Stoa in Delos (below, p. 5, note 18).

¹¹ Among the archaic stoai listed below, p. 5, note that only the two stoai or leschai in Didyma having spans of 7.25 m. and 7.69 m. without interior supports approximate this building. In Samothrace, on the other hand, the Anaktoron built in the late archaic age has an even wider span of 11.60 m. (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 331).

¹² This corrects the view of C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg, 1929, p. 170, that one-aisled archaic stoai invariably had a "Pulldach."

¹³ Compare reconstruction diagrams of a pre-monumental Doric cornice—for example: F. Bühlmann, *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XII, 1922, fig. 1; E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, Copenhagen, 1948, pls. 16-17; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, p. 57, fig. 20. See, also, the remarks on "Traufgeisa" by E. Buschor, *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, II, Berlin, 1933, p. 3.

upper triangular termination of the lateral wall and that the continuous cornice was raked up at the corner.¹⁴

Some of the geison blocks have holes for iron nails by means of which a terracotta sima was fastened to them. Fragments of such a simple unsculptured sima were found. Both the exterior and the interior of the building were covered with a hard, fine, white stucco, still preserved in many places.

Like the curious technique of the building, its use of a wooden architrave and wooden ties, its geison points to a very early date for it, in the formative period of monumental Doric stone architecture in Greece, and other technical details are in harmony with such a date. The type of lifting hole preserved in some instances is the U-shaped, generally very archaic, channel.¹⁵ Square dowels were sparingly used in the lower part of the wall. Swallow-tailed lead clamps with iron hooks¹⁶ occur in the euthynteria of the façade and on some geison blocks.

In harmony with all these indications, the ceramic finds made in original fills near the northern foundation and in the interior point to a date in the early part of the sixth century B.C.¹⁷ Apart from the importance of this early archaic structure for the formation of Greek stone architecture, it is a welcome addition to the exceedingly small number of archaic Greek "stoa" buildings so far known¹⁸ and, given its considerable depth without the use of interior supports and its colonnaded façade between spur walls, it is a unique example of a lesche.

Its discovery in the southern area of the sanctuary,¹⁹ where, thus far, only a

¹⁴ Similar to a simple cornice in a later stone structure restored by Fiechter: A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, I, Munich, 1906, pp. 109 ff., figs. 73, 77; also, *ibid.*, p. 81, fig. 37.

¹⁵ See for this type: Dyggve, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.

¹⁶ "Hakenklammern": *ibid.*, pp. 260 f. with bibliography. Add to his archaic examples: the Ionic treasury of Marmaria at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 3, figs. 59-61); the Knidian Treasury (Dinsmoor, *B.C.H.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 9 ff., note 1; the statement here that such iron reinforcements were used only in marble and never in poros is no longer correct); Didyma (Th. Wiegand, *Didyma*, I, Berlin, 1941, pp. 134 ff.; also, on the sculptured block published by Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures du Musée Impérial Ottoman*, I, Constantinople, 1912, p. 555, no. 239).

¹⁷ They were exclusively non-Attic, early archaic potsherds and included a Corinthian fragment.

¹⁸ These are: a) Samos, seventh century B.C. (E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 12 ff., Beilage 1, 5); b) Samos, ca. 550 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 55 f.); c) Delos, Naxian Stoa, ca. 550 B.C. (F. Courby, *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 339 ff., pl. 7; R. Vallois, *ibid.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 430; *idem*, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, Paris, 1943, p. 21); d) Stoa or Lesche a, Didyma (Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff., pls. 79, 80); e) Stoa or Lesche b, Didyma (*ibid.*); f) and g) two small stoai in Larissa (*Larissa*, I, Berlin, 1940, pp. 69 ff.). The Naxian Oikos in Delos, listed by C. Weickert, *op. cit.*, p. 122, as one of the only two stoai of which he then knew, has nothing to do with the type.

¹⁹ Even earlier use of this section of the sanctuary was evident from a small accumulation of potsherds, charcoal and a few bones, seemingly remnants of a sacrifice, immediately to the north of the building near some sizeable rocks. The potsherds found here are slightly later than those of the sub-geometric deposit discovered on the Central Terrace (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 34 ff.) and included a fragment of a proto-Corinthian skyphos.

presumably small late archaic forerunner of the "New Temple" had been known,²⁰ shows that by the early sixth century the sanctuary already covered a large area. The purpose of this building, it is natural to assume, was always the same. It was built for the storage and exhibition of votive gifts²¹ and fragments of such dedications from its early days in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. have been found beneath its later floor. While in the previously excavated northern parts of the sanctuary undecorated vessels and lamps prevail for ritual use, such material is completely absent here. Instead we find all kinds of objects customary as votive gifts in sanctuaries. These discoveries in conjunction with the fact that remnants of later votive gifts were found in the ruin of the building, justify the name "Hall of Votive Gifts" which we have given to it.

Thus far we have excavated only a small section of the fill under the later floor near its broken northern end. This section has already furnished a remarkable quantity of fragmentary votive gifts. For the first time in Samothrace, these fragments include a layer²² of decorated Attic black-figured and red-figured pottery clearly from vases once dedicated here (Pl. 2 c and d).²³

Among the potsherds extracted from this fill or found near by, and evidently washed out from it, there is an unusually large percentage with carefully incised inscriptions and graffiti, clearly of dedicatory character, some from the archaic period, others possibly from the fifth century. They are mostly incomplete, and, while some fragments could make sense in Greek and others are nondescript, still others again pose the problem of a non-Greek, presumably native, language which, according to ancient tradition, continued to be used long later in the Samothracian cult.²⁴

Two fragments of large coarse bowls were found, on the lip of which, in one instance, a carefully incised word ΔΕΛ (Pl. 3c) is completely preserved,²⁵ while the other fragment²⁶ preserved the beginning of the same word ΔΕ. Under the foot

²⁰ See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 20 ff.

²¹ The purpose of all the archaic stoai and leschai listed above, note 18, seems to have been the same. For the two stoai in Samos, see Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 55; for Didyma, Wiegand, *loc. cit.* This use is certain for the Stoa of Kleisthenes (after 591 B.C.) which is known only from a literary reference (Pausanias, II, 9, 6; see *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 491; Weickert, *loc. cit.*) as having been built ἀπὸ λαφύρων as was the Athenian Stoa at Delphi which sheltered votive gifts of booty at the end of the archaic age.

²² A very small quantity of black-figured and red-figured fragments has been found in various regions in preceding campaigns, always on surface soil or with débris washed down from the eastern hill.

²³ Acc. Nos. 51.297; 51.907-908; 51.872.

²⁴ See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 17 f.; XX, 1951, p. 29.

²⁵ Acc. No. 51.922. Pres. width 0.223 m.

²⁶ Acc. No. 51.923. Pres. width 0.146 m.

of a cup.²⁷ occurs ΔΕΛ again, this time preceded by an Α. On other sherds such strange inscriptions as ΤΩΜΜΥ²⁸ and . . . ΥΟΔΙΣΦ:²⁹ appear.

We have previously found a few inscriptions of evidently non-Greek character.³⁰ The new additions are sufficient to make any connection in type of writing or language with the Tyrrhenian language of Lemnos³¹ highly improbable. At this juncture, therefore, one may assume that the language—as well as the pre-Greek people of Samothrace and its early religion—belongs to the Thracian family, as the names of some of their gods like Axiokersos, Axiokersa and Axieros suggest.

On the other hand, the increased number of carefully incised inscriptions of archaic origin found in Samothrace seems to indicate the use of an alphabet identical with that on the famous archaic relief of Agamemnon in the Louvre³² and thus to enhance the oral tradition that this relief actually was found in Samothrace.

In addition to early ceramic votive gifts, we found several fragmentary bronze fibulae. Two belong to well-known Greek island types of early archaic character: the simple bow with medium-sized (broken away) fastening slab,³³ and the miniature fibula with globular excrescences on the bow.³⁴ A third, massively cast small fibula (Pl. 3d)³⁵ of seemingly unique form in Greece, is related to the *sanguisuga* type of Italy and may well be an imported piece from Etruria.³⁶ An oblong amber bead³⁷ which evidently once belonged to the decoration of a fibula points in the same direction.

Art historically of greater interest is a fragmentary finely-moulded terracotta head (Pl. 3a)³⁸ presumably from a plastic vase of unusual size and quality. Painted in black glaze on a white slip and clearly belonging to Ionic art of the early sixth century B.C., it shows vague similarities to Rhodian³⁹ and Aeginetan products. Yet

²⁷ Acc. No. 51.382. Diameter of foot 0.066 m.

²⁸ Acc. No. 51.294.

²⁹ Acc. No. 51.301.

³⁰ See above, note 24.

³¹ As in the famous Lemnian Stele, *I.G.*, XII, 8, pp. 7 f. and the graffiti published by Della Seta, *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, Vatican City, 1937, pp. 119 ff.

³² For the latest discussion, see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 6, note 17.

³³ Acc. No. 51.840. Pres. Length 0.054 m. Close to Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, pl. 4, no. 47.

³⁴ Acc. No. 51.819. Another fragment of such a fibula (Acc. No. 51.213) was extracted from the joints of the late Hellenistic terrace wall parallel to the southwestern side of the Central Terrace Precinct by Mr. Daykin (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 38 f., pl. 4a). For the type, see Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Copenhagen, 1926, p. 98, No. 10.

³⁵ Acc. No. 51.818. Length 0.031 m.

³⁶ Closest to seventh-century gold fibulae: D. R. MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, p. 129, pl. 27. For Etruscan fibulae imported to Greece, see: Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.

³⁷ Acc. No. 51.781. Length 0.011 m. See Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*

³⁸ Acc. No. 52.1.

³⁹ See M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques*, I, Paris, 1925, pp. 129 ff.

it is unusual in its large size, its broad modelling and precise drawing, and especially in the fixed gaze of the eyes in which the wide pupil is separately indicated by means of an incised ring that divides it from the iris, a technique found in architectural terracottas ⁴⁰ and Attic headvases.⁴¹

The latest objects found in a homogeneous yellowish earth fill beneath the floor belong to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. It was then, after some vicissitude, that the building was restored and a new floor was laid in it. For this floor, an under-pavement of small, densely packed stones was spread out which, at the time of discovery, was completely preserved in the major southern part of the building (Pls. 1b; 2a, right; 7a; 7b, foreground). This underpavement was laid out in a peculiar way. It had a border zone 1.10 m. wide along the rear wall and 1.01 m. wide inside the front colonnade. In the northern part, this border is destroyed and at the southern end it is now concealed beneath a later stucco floor. But undoubtedly it continued around the entire interior. Though clearly separated from the inner floor, it is only very slightly raised above its level ⁴² and its existence inside the open façade precludes any superstructure. Thus this border seems to be merely a "setting" device for an ornamental frame of the fifth-century floor and the careful under-paving may indicate that the pavement was an ornamental pebble mosaic floor, though later remodelling has left no other traces of it. The walls were stuccoed at this time, presumably, in light blue.

The building seems to have been restored again in the late Hellenistic age. Such a restoration is indicated by the discovery of several large gilded bronze letters, two of which, an Υ and an Ι ⁴³ are completely preserved (Pl. 4 a and b). They were found near the façade in the southern part of the building and they clearly belong to a monumental dedicatory inscription. Provided on the back with little conically undercut pegs for insertion in stucco, these letters were once probably attached to the white stuccoed surface of the architrave against which they stood out in golden relief: a

⁴⁰ Compare for example: F. Poulsen - K. Rhomaïos, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die dänisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen in Kalydon*, Copenhagen, 1927, pls. 30, 36, 37 = Dyggve, *op. cit.*, p. 184, fig. 192, pl. XXII, H.

E. Douglas Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, London, 1926, pl. 33, fig. 120, pl. 35, fig. 129. The thinness of the manufacture in our case seems to exclude architectural use.

⁴¹ See, for example, J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris, 1924, pp. 64 ff., 318 f.

⁴² It is, therefore, quite unrelated to the dining hall arrangement known from public and private buildings of the classical age (A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, I, Munich, 1906, p. 113, pls. 21, 3; 70; *Corinth*, XV, 1, 1948, pl. 8, fig. E; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, VIII, Baltimore, 1946, *passim*. The pavement of a court at Olynthos is, to some extent, analogous; *ibid.*, House A VIII, 5, pl. 18, p. 27.

⁴³ Acc. No. 51.628, height 0.076 m.; Acc. No. 51.627, height 0.082 m.

novelty in Hellenistic Greek architecture ⁴⁴ later found in Rome and well in keeping with the earlier evidence for bronze relief decoration in Samothrace which has been discussed in our previous report.

To this Hellenistic restoration may belong the replacing of the fifth-century ornamental floor by a stucco floor of pinkish red color, large sections of which are preserved in the southern part of the building. The walls seem to have been white-washed in this period.

A last restoration took place sometime during the Roman age. The floor was now repainted, this time with a thin coat of bright apple-green and the walls were stuccoed an intense red with white stripes or panels in some places. But basically, like the Anaktoron, ⁴⁵ the venerable Hall of Votive Gifts preserved its archaic appearance. The two early buildings must have presented a curious contrast with the splendid marble structures of later times that surrounded them.

As long as the pagan cult lasted, the Lesche was used for the exhibition of votive gifts. They were rifled, of course, at the end, and only fragments of them were found which are indicative, however, of a great variety of objects. They include fragments of gilded bronze statues and a marble eye ⁴⁶ from a bronze head; a badly worn but originally fine head of a marble statuette (Pl. 3b), a Hellenistic portrait; ⁴⁷ bronze studs and the frame of a key hole belonging to wooden chests of the fourth century B.C.; fragments of bronze vessels and an alabaster vase; a lid and fragment of a finely carved bone pyxis (Pl. 3e); ⁴⁸ a bottom of a unique Hellenistic relief vase decorated inside and out with a satyr (?) mask, one smiling, one serious (Pl. 4 d and e); ⁴⁹ a gold ring of Hellenistic type; ⁵⁰ and a large seemingly unique silver nail (Pl. 3f) ⁵¹ from a chest, a piece of furniture or, possibly, armor. ⁵² The most interesting of these finds are a number of fragments of an iron chain mail cuirass

⁴⁴ Raised relief letters on a *tabula ansata* probably representing such bronze letters on a wooden tablet appear on the early Hellenistic stele of Sasamas in Istanbul (Pl. 4c): Mendel, *op. cit.*, III, 1914, pp. 307 ff., No. 1073; here Photo Saba. Our letters (and this stele), as Frank Brown pointed out, mark the beginning of the specific Eastern tradition of lettering in relief that was so remarkably expanded in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. Such gilded bronze letters of the Imperial age were found at the Gate of Hadrian in Adalia (Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, Vienna, 1890, p. 155, fig. 106) and at Corinth (Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton, 1952, No. 2882, p. 336, pl. 136).

⁴⁵ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 337.

⁴⁶ Acc. No. 51.625.

⁴⁷ Acc. No. 51.273. The head was found outside the northeast corner of the building.

⁴⁸ Acc. No. 51.893-894. Diameter 0.04 m.

⁴⁹ Acc. No. 51.272. Diameter 0.07 m. For cups with satyr heads, see F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 230 ff. with bibliography.

⁵⁰ Acc. No. 51.520. Diameter 0.024 m.

⁵¹ Acc. No. 51.713. Length 0.0307 m.; diameter of top 0.0209 m.

⁵² Silver, as the "silvershielders" show, was popular in the Macedonian army. Officers in that army had boots with silver nails: Plutarch, *Alexander*, 40, 1.

(Pl. 5a),⁵³ a welcome addition to the few preserved antique pieces of this type of armor,⁵⁴ historically so important. The dense mesh of these incredibly refined fragments, with their closely set iron rings of a seemingly unparalleled⁵⁵ miniature size—each ring being only 3 mm. in outer diameter—and the resulting tightness in which the inner rings that hold the rows together are completely invisible, exceeds the remarkably fine quality of fragments preserved from the Roman empire. On the other hand, our pieces are strikingly like the carefully represented chain mail cuirasses that appear among the Gaulish trophies in the second century B.C. reliefs from the decoration of the precinct of Athena in Pergamon (Pl. 5b).⁵⁶ Just as these reliefs reproduce actual trophies taken by the Pergamene kings,⁵⁷ Gaulish armor had been dedicated in Greek sanctuaries even before, for instance, in the third century B.C. by Pyrrhus.⁵⁸ It may well be that the new fragments from Samothrace belong to such a dedication of Gaulish trophies and are examples of the original technique of this invention for which modern critics have given credit to the *La Tène* age Celts. One marvels at their unparalleled skill in iron work.

The scattered fragments left on the floor of the Lesche by the late antique looters are sufficient to show that at the end of antiquity the old building was a real museum of many centuries of earlier craftsmanship. In it, we finally found a silent witness of the dramatic end of this pagan splendor. Just inside the façade, lying on the late green floor (Pl. 5c) and buried by the débris of the final catastrophe, there was left a broken marble float (Pl. 5d, right)⁵⁹ abandoned by a workman who must have been engaged in a last renovation of the building, presumably at the time when the edict of Theodosios enforced the cessation of pagan worship, against local resistance. When they were driven out, the workmen left behind this broken tool of a type still used

⁵³ Acc. Nos. 51.656-660. The first newly discovered fragment was recognized as chain mail by Frank Brown, who also called our attention to pieces of the imperial age found in Dura: *The Excavations at Dura Europos*, Sixth Preliminary Report, New Haven, 1936, pp. 194, 204.

⁵⁴ For literary sources, see: *R.E.*, s.v. Thorax, cols. 335 ff. (without full reference to the finds). For Roman pieces from the Rhineland and Gaul: W. Rose, *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, IV, 1906, pp. 1 ff.; Lindenschmidt, *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, I, fasc. 12, Mainz, 1858, pl. 4; S. Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée de S. Germain en Laye*, I, Paris, 1917, p. 200. The pieces allegedly found in Carnuntum (*R.E.*, loc. cit.) I do not know. See in general: P. Cousin, *Revue archéologique*, V, ser. XIX, 1924, p. 48; *idem*, *Les armes Romains*, Paris, 1926, pp. 99 ff., 268 ff., 339 ff., 444 ff., 512 ff. A piece from Aquileia: G. Brusin, *Gli Scavi di Aquileia*, Udine, 1934, p. 152, no. 12, fig. 84.

⁵⁵ The smallest ring-size so far known seems to be 0.004 m.: Rose, loc. cit.

⁵⁶ *Altertümer von Pergamon*, II, 1885, pp. 104 ff., pl. 44; especially, pl. 46, fig. 2; pl. 49, fig. 4 (here Pl. 5b).

⁵⁷ See Pausanias, I, 4, 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 13, 2: F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Historische Griechische Epigramme*, Bonn, 1926, p. 40, No. 94.

⁵⁹ Acc. No. 51.560. Pres. length 0.37 m.; width 0.203 m.; height 0.057 m. Traces of use on lower smooth face.

in Samothrace as well as elsewhere (Pl. 5d, left) to smooth the stucco surfaces of floors and walls. To our knowledge, it is the only marble object of the kind preserved from antiquity, and it presumably dates from the late empire. But the type, poor wooden descendants of which are still in use, is at least as old as the archaic Greek age from which smaller tufa examples have been found in the sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina (Pl. 5e).⁶⁰

When the Lesche was abandoned at the time of the cessation of the pagan cult, it was almost 1000 years old. If it sheltered votive gifts, large and small, it was natural that during its long life other dedications were placed in its vicinity.

To the immediate north of the building, we uncovered the southeastern corner of a limestone foundation (of the variety used commonly in the Hellenistic period). It was a small structure, probably about 3 m. square, and could only have supported a monument, an altar, or at best an aedicula. A short distance to the northwest of it and farther down the slope, there now lies a huge mutilated block of Egyptian rose granite. We found numerous splinters of this granite monument throughout the region.⁶¹ The foundation to the north of the Hall of Votive Gifts seems to be the only structure which could have supported this monument. The granite block, though broken on all sides, has on its upper face two deep holes as if for the mounting of a super-colossal statue. The material seems to indicate a third ambitious Ptolemaic dedication⁶² in the sanctuary of the Great Gods, in addition to the rotunda of Queen Arsinoe and the Propylon of Ptolemy Philadelphos, this time a colossal statue that arose to the immediate north of the Hall of Votive Gifts and to the northwest of the

⁶⁰ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 167; II, pl. 68. The Aeginetan pieces are only 0.13-0.14 m. long, that is, about one-third the length of our big marble tool. A similar object may appear in a Pompeian painting: *Annali*, 1881, pl. H (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Tector, p. 54, fig. 6754; Th. Schreiber, *Kulturhistorischer Bilderatlas*, Leipzig, 1888, pl. 65, fig. 5; Reinach, *Rep. Peint.*, p. 251, 4). The drawing of this painting is confused. But the man seems to hold in his right hand the handle of a rectangular slab of the size of the modern Greek wooden examples (Pl. 5d, left), while his left hand seems to press stucco against the wall behind it. A. Mau, *Bull. d. Ist.*, 1879, p. 134 and A. Jardé, Daremberg-Saglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 f., have understood the action as polishing the already stuccoed wall, while H. Blümner, *Annali*, 1881, pp. 107 f. (also, *Technologie und Terminologie*, III, p. 183) thought of the *trulla* used in applying stucco (hence the confusion of both theories by K. Bernhardt, *Textbuch* to Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 321). But the object is clearly not a "trowel" or "ladle."

⁶¹ S., I, p. 10, a piece found at the northern end of the "New Temple" is mentioned. The block uncovered by us in 1950 now lies at a distance of ca. 13 m. northwest of the northwestern corner of the "New Temple." Conze's description of the fragment the Austrians found as "ein nur roh zugehauenes, etwa wie zu einer *gerundeten* Basis bestimmtes Stück" (italics mine) hardly fits the huge block mentioned. That block is square, though much broken, and the holes on its surface most certainly would have been mentioned if the block were identical with the one found by the Austrians.

⁶² See Conze, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Compare a dedication of Egyptian porphyry in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *S.I.G.O.*, I, 91.

"New Temple." The statue evidently was placed directly on a granite base. Between the latter and the foundation, there could have existed another postament.

It seems just possible that a set of Thasian marble reliefs with centaurs may have belonged to this base. Parts of a galloping centaur have been restored in the Vienna Museum,⁶³ where a fragment of a second centaur is also preserved.⁶⁴ We have previously⁶⁵ found other fragments and, during the campaign of 1951, several more appeared in the same region in which scattered pieces of the granite base were found. They include the left foreleg of a rearing centaur (Pl. 6a)⁶⁶ and a right hand⁶⁷ perforated for an attribute (Pl. 6b), both in exuberant Hellenistic "baroque" modelling, presumably of the late third or early second century B.C. Unless these reliefs belonged to the interior decoration of the pronaos of the "New Temple," for which they would hardly have been appropriate, there seems to be no place for them save on the granite monument. Was it a colossal image of a Ptolemaic king as Dionysos or Herakles or a Dionysos-Osiris whose base fittingly could be decorated with a thiasos of centaurs?

We found the major part of the dedicatory inscription of another large monument that must have stood outside the southern end of the Hall of Votive Gifts, but cannot be exactly located, a broken slab of Thasian marble⁶⁸ which once formed part of a big statuary base or altar (Pl. 6c). The inscription reads

M·A·FIDIVS·M·L·□IE·SVO — —

to be restored as: M(arcus) A[l]fidius⁶⁹ M(arci) l(ibertus) de suo. The misspelling of *de* by a Greek scribe who did not know Latin and had been given a text in cursive writing has been suggested to us independently by Herbert Bloch and Naphtali Lewis. The lettering dates the inscription about the middle of the first century B.C. The dedicator thus undoubtedly was a wealthy freedman of the grandfather of the empress Livia whose name is known from an inscription of her mother.⁷⁰

Though of a different category and found near the medieval towers in Palaeopolis, another document added to the increasing number of monuments attesting the great popularity of Samothrace in the late Roman republic may be mentioned at

⁶³ S., I, pl. 52.

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 42, note 92.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42 f.

⁶⁶ Acc. No. 51.368. Pres. height 0.203 m.

⁶⁷ Acc. No. 51.293. Pres. length 0.098 m.

⁶⁸ Acc. No. 51.1. Two joining pieces. Broken at right side and above. Pres. length 0.96 m.; pres. height 0.495 m.; thickness 0.105 m. Height of letters 0.04 m. Letters "not later than mid first century B.C." (H. Bloch).

⁶⁹ The restoration *A[u]fidius* seems to be excluded by the preserved surface. *A[l]fidius* was first suggested by Frank Brown.

⁷⁰ *P.I.R.*, I, 1897, p. 50, No. 385.

this point. This is the fragmentary upper part of a stele of Thasian marble (Pl. 6d) with a pedimental top.⁷¹ It is one more of the great number of catalogues of mystae. The main text reads:

L Cornuficio.⁷² Sext[o Pompeio]
 Cos(ulibus). A(nte) d(ies) XII K(alendas) Iul(ias)
 Mystae Pii
 M(arcus) Ru[tili]us M(arcus) l(ibertus) Philo
 ----- M(arcus) l(ibertus) Pam[philus]
 etc.

In the pediment, names were later added:

Hilar[i]o [P]rim[us]

On the moulding beneath it, I seem to still see part of the formula [ἐ]πι βασιλεύς --] and, to the left of it, another added name -- Iul[ius?]. The inscription is one of the rare epigraphical documents for the consulship in 35 B.C., of Lucius Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius, two outstanding opponents of the civil war in the preceding years.^{72a}

A third large monument of unknown character—either a statuary group or an altar of elongated form from the late Roman age—has left its traces in a crude fieldstone foundation (Pls. 1b, 2a, 7a)⁷³ immediately outside the southwestern corner of the Hall of Votive Gifts. It was partly built over the southern end of the euthyn-teria of the façade step after the southernmost step block had been taken away.

When the Lesche collapsed in the final catastrophe of the sanctuary in the sixth century after Christ, débris of the two adjacent buildings crashed into it. A number of marbles from the superstructure of the "New Temple," which towered above the old building immediately to its east, were found over the lane that separated the two buildings and over its eastern part. Others had been uncovered in previous excavations. While continuing work on the "New Temple" under the supervision of Mrs. Lehmann, we completed the provisional erection of its column drums,⁷⁴ continued the census of blocks from its superstructure, and began to place marbles on

⁷¹ Acc. No. 51.98. Found on the site of the town near the medieval towers. Broken at right and below. Pres. height 0.226 m.; pres. width 0.225 m.; thickness 0.074 m. Height of letters 0.022 m. (line 1) to 0.007 m. (line 5).

⁷² The spelling *Cornuficius* instead of *Cornificius* also occurs on contemporary coins. See *R.E.* (*s.v.* *Cornificius*), IV, cols. 1623 ff. with testimonia; *P.I.R.*, I, p. 472, No. 1229.

^{72a} For another document, from Ithaka, see *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 490 ff.

⁷³ 5 m. long from east to west, preserved to a width of 0.80 m. at the eastern end.

⁷⁴ See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 20, pl. 3.

the western foundation once the work on its plan and sections had been fully completed by Mr. Daykin, who was assisted in this work by Mr. Spittle (Pls. 1a and b, 7a, 9).

The cleaning up of the débris of the "New Temple" in the region of the Hall of Votive Gifts presented us with an important, if fragmentary, inscribed document (Pl. 6e): the upper part of a stele⁷⁵ which, given its character and the position in which it was found, at a slight distance from the pronaos of the "New Temple," can safely be attributed to the pronaos of that building. Near the inscription, we found a re-used marble block which, as Miss Loeffler discovered, has a cutting fitting the thickness of this stele and together with another now lost stone evidently once formed its base and was inserted into the floor of the pronaos. The inscription was engraved in three lines near the upper end of the stele in Hellenistic lettering of the second century B.C.:

Ἀμύητον
μὴ εἰσιέναι
εἰς τὸ ἱερόν

It will be recalled that, in 1938, we found a similar *lex sacra* in fallen position outside the doors which led from the initiation hall into a rear sanctuary of the Anaktoron.⁷⁶ While that inscription is a renewal of about A.D. 200 and has a Latin translation added to its Greek text, the new stele indicates the old tradition of such inscribed stelai in the sanctuary.

The inscription from the Anaktoron employs the formula Μὴ τὸν ἀμύητον εἰσιέναι implying that every mystes was allowed to enter the rear chamber after the μύησις in the main hall. On the basis of this document which made it clear that the Anaktoron served for the first degree of initiation, we have previously concluded that the "New Temple"—the earliest predecessor of which seems to have been contemporary with the Anaktoron and the interior installation of which clearly points to its use for equally exclusive mystery rites—served for initiation into the higher degree, the epopteia. In Samothrace, participation in that ceremony was sought for by only a minority of the initiated as the epigraphical documents show, and probably it was rather costly, while in Eleusis it is mostly assumed to have been the necessary conclusion of participation in the mysteries. And while in Eleusis a year had to elapse between the first and the second degrees, in Samothrace, one could obtain the epopteia on the same night, after the μύησις, as the inscriptions show. These are important

⁷⁵ Acc. No. 51.501. Found at a distance of 4.00 m. west of the pronaos. Broken at right and below. Thasian marble. Pres. width 0.383 m.; pres. height 0.27 m.; thickness 0.086 m. Height of letters 0.032 m. (line 1); 0.028 m. (lines 2-3). I wish to acknowledge most valuable assistance from Professors Meritt and Shoe who established a more complete reading of the text from the photograph than I had previously been able to make out.

⁷⁶ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 138, fig. 6.

differences between the two places. But the analogy of two degrees and of terminology remains. In Eleusis, as Noack⁷⁷ has pointed out most convincingly, the *μύσις* which could be obtained in Athens or in the Court of the Sanctuary, was in the nature of a rite of purification preceding the real participation in the mysteries. The latter bestowed the first degree in the *τελετή*, an individual action involving a sacramental drink, the touching of sacred symbols, and profession of allegiance. This *τελετή* took place in the Telesterion in Eleusis. We may now assume that in Samothrace the *μύστης* entered the rear sanctuary of the Anaktoron after his initiation and purification passing through one of the two doors to receive the *τελετή* and leaving through the other door. He was then a *μύστης εὐσεβής* (*musta pius*) as the inscriptions say. As such, no longer an *ἀτέλειστος*, he might proceed to acquire the highest degree by participating in a special ceremony and revelation in the "New Temple," to which no uninitiated person had access.

If the text of the *lex sacra* as preserved is complete—the badly destroyed surface at the right does not allow this conclusion to be drawn with absolute certainty—the "New Temple," used for the most sacred rite of the mysteries, was specifically called τὸ *ιερόν*. In the Samothracian decree in honor of Lysimachus (between 288-7 and 280-1), it is reported that the plunderers of the sanctuary entered the Hieron by night for unlawful and impious deeds, after they had tried to plunder the votive gifts of the kings and other Greeks and after they had attempted to set the temenos of the Gods afire.^{77a} One is tempted to recognize in the temenos the Central Terrace Precinct and in the Hieron the "New Temple" or one of its predecessors, entrance into which on the part of the uninitiated was in itself an unlawful and impious act.

On the stele from the Anaktoron where the text also appears in a few lines on the upper part of the block, the space below the inscription is filled by the symbols of Hermes-Kadmilos and the two brothers who were identified with the Dioskouroi. One wonders whether similar symbols, possibly related to other and even more potent divinities of the Samothracian circle, filled the lower space of the new stele. But here, again, the mysterious gods elude us.

⁷⁷ F. Noack, *Eleusis*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 229 ff.

^{77a} *I.G.*, XII, 8, 150, lines 4 ff.: καὶ | [ἐ]γχειρήσαντας συλῆσαι τὰ ἀναθήματα | [τ]ὰ ἀνατεθέντα [ὑ]πὸ τῶ<ν> βασιλέω<ν> καὶ | [τ]ῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων<ν> καὶ ζητήσαντας | [ἐμ]πρῆσαι τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν καὶ | [εἰς]πηδήσαντας νύκτωρ ἐπ' ἀδικίᾳ | [καὶ] ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ etc. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, p. 165 suggested that in this text *ιερόν* was a special section within the large sanctuary, to which he referred the term *τέμενος*. However, the Samothracian sanctuary, having by and large only natural boundaries, could hardly be called a temenos.—For *ιερόν* as a structure within a larger sanctuary, compare the Thesmophorion in Delos: *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 388.

The existence of a second conspicuous structure to the west of the southern half of the "New Temple" (Pl. 9) has been known since the Austrian excavation.⁷⁸ Its eastern foundation, separated from the "Temple" by the narrow passage, in which we found an akroterial Victory in 1949, and its northeastern and southeastern corners were traced by Conze and his collaborators. Almost thirty years ago, a mission directed by Professor Salač traced the outlines of the entire foundation. While no adequate publication of this excavation is available, allusions to it⁷⁹ indicated the general size of the structure which measures 14.44 m. from east to west and 17.15 m. from north to south. It is separated by a lane on the average 2 m. wide from the southern wall of the Hall of Votive Gifts. While Salač⁸⁰ has expressed the opinion that the magnificently built foundation (Pl. 7b) never supported any superstructure, Professor Schober⁸¹ correctly attributed to it a fragment of a dedicatory inscription discovered by Salač (Pl. 8b), and we assumed that marble blocks of a Doric building found in the débris of this region and not identical with those of the "New Temple" belonged to its superstructure.⁸² Specifically, Mrs. Lehmann had observed that blocks of a Doric frieze 0.795 m. high could not belong to the "New Temple" whose frieze has a height of only 0.74 m. The Austrian excavators were deceived by the *melée* in which remnants of the adjacent buildings were found and in their publication indicated a height of 0.76 m. for the frieze of the "Temple,"⁸³ evidently a compromise between divergent measurements of blocks actually belonging to two different structures, since no such block has ever been found.

When we began to excavate, the northern and southern foundation walls, each of 1.00 m. width, were still largely exposed though overgrown. The line of the eastern foundation which never seems to have been fully uncovered was, and still is, largely covered with débris and earth.⁸⁴ The western foundation wall, 1.20 m. wide and preserved only at the lowest level (the fifth course from above), which had previously been uncovered by the mission of Professor Salač,⁸⁵ had been covered with

⁷⁸ In their first campaign, they had noted marble blocks of differing dimensions and Conze suggested the possible existence of another Doric structure to the west of the "New Temple." *S.*, I, p. 14; also II, p. 10. But Hauser, *ibid.*, p. 28, attributed the foundation, by that time discovered and marked D (p. 29, fig. 6 and pl. I), to a great "postament."

⁷⁹ *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 540 f. The dimensions are given as 17.00 x 14.35 m.

⁸⁰ *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 557 ff. See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 21, note 76.

⁸¹ *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 1 f.

⁸² *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*

⁸³ *S.*, I, pls. 25, 33. The confusion may have been partly caused by the fact that the architraves of both buildings are of equal height.

⁸⁴ See the Austrian illustrations quoted above, note 78. Hauser thought he recognized two steps, each having a width of 0.55 m. (probably deceived by a partly missing outer course of stretchers), which would result in a width of 1.10 m.

⁸⁵ An illustration of the state of the excavation is found in fig. 8 of *Sbirka Prednések Czeke Akademie Ved a Umeni*, fasc. 6, Prague, 1938, knowledge of which we owe to the kindness of Dr. Frel.

earth again. Thus far, we have limited ourselves to clearing the northern and western foundations. The solid ashlar wall of native rusticated rock was built in alternating courses of coupled stretchers and transversal binders of standard size and gives an impression of unusual strength, even of beauty (Pl. 7b).

We expect to achieve full excavation of the entire structure in 1952. However, mingled with elements of the superstructure of the Hall of Votive Gifts to the north and with blocks from the "New Temple" to the northeast we have already found a profusion of marbles from its superstructure, in addition to others which fell to the northwest in the final catastrophe.

The marble blocks so far observed, catalogued and lined up which may safely be attributed to this structure already count to almost half a hundred. They include stereobate blocks, steps, wall blocks, Doric wall and columnar architraves, frieze blocks, geisa, column drums, capitals, anta blocks, and inner wall architraves. Among them there are, also, wall blocks with mouldings on both faces which were placed on top of the walls continuing the mouldings of the anta capitals.

While the investigation of this structure is by no means concluded, certain facts regarding its restoration are already indicated by the character of the foundation, the known elements of the superstructure, and other details. Location as well as the thickness of the western foundation indicate that the building faced the theatre area. On this side, it had an open colonnade, partly or entirely closed by metal grilles: four columns between antae that formed the end of spur walls turning toward the façade from the northwestern and southwestern corners, a scheme curiously similar to the façade of the archaic Hall of Votive Gifts to the north. While the elevation of the façade adhered to the classical norm of the two-triglyph system, the central intercolumniation was wider, having two triglyphs between the columns, as in the Propylaea of Mnesikles.

The three other walls were closed, though a side door may have existed in the southern wall which is not yet excavated. The interior was unroofed, as the complete absence of roof tiles shows. So far as it has not been removed by previous excavators, as was the case with the northern end, a purplish earth fill which may or may not have supported a marble floor filled the interior.

The building was, thus, an open rectangular courtyard with a columnar façade on its long western side. Its purpose was indicated by the discovery of a huge marble slab (visible on the foundation in Plate 7a, 2.80 m. wide, 0.60 m. long between sides having anathyrosis) with mouldings on both faces, that was found at a slight distance to the west of the northern part of the façade, evidently in fallen position; it had crashed into a later concrete structure⁸⁶ that runs roughly parallel to the western

⁸⁶ The stone could hardly have been brought purposefully from elsewhere.

foundation.⁸⁷ This slab can hardly belong to anything else but the upper end of a monumental altar that once stood in the interior of the Doric marble court.

We therefore assume, for the time being, that the structure was an Altar-Court. As such, though still lacking the high podium with relief decoration, and though Doric instead of Ionic in order, it is a striking forerunner of the Altar of Pergamon. But the levels preserved also seem to indicate that a broad stairway led up to the altar in Samothrace, too. The basic idea of a great altar-court with a column façade between spur walls, and the almost exact equality of dimension in depth⁸⁸ (while in Samothrace the length is limited by the space available between the Hall of Votive Gifts and the course of the river to the south) both point to a forerunner of the Pergamon Altar. In the latter, the concept of a monumental altar-court is fused with that of the high altar terrace of old derivation. While the latter, Anatolian, tradition has long been recognized behind the Pergamon Altar, the structure now emerging in Samothrace furnishes an antecedent for the superstructure of the Altar of Pergamon, because it is earlier. That it belongs to the latter part of the fourth century B.C. is indicated⁸⁹ by the proportions and by technical and formal details. The submitting of evidence for this statement will have to be postponed. But it may be said now that the affinity to the little that is known of later fourth-century Doric architecture is close, especially to the Temple of Stratos⁹⁰ built by Kassander or shortly before, at the time of Alexander the Great.

We found epigraphic documents confirming this date which are in themselves of considerable importance for the history of the time. A large fragmentary columnar architrave block (Pl. 8a)⁹¹ was found to the north of the western part of the northern foundation just outside the excavation ditch in which our predecessors had traced the course of that foundation. Its inscribed face lying upward only covered by overgrowth was observed by Mr. Shaw. It had been put upright and mutilated by Byzantine peasants who had piled stones together to serve as a little roughly curved wall. But it was undoubtedly found near by, where we found many blocks from the northern

⁸⁷ The slab was found 4.00 m. distant from the western foundation and *ca.* 3 m. to the north of the center line of the structure.

⁸⁸ Approximately 15.00 by 26.00 m. in Pergamon.

⁸⁹ The few potsherds so far found in the northern foundation ditch do not contradict this date, and include a fourth-century bowl. A purplish fill brought in at the time of the construction of the third century "New Temple" covered the original yellowish fill in the foundation ditch of the structure. In the narrow lane between it and the Hall of Votive Gifts (the floor of which was at a lower level), the two upper handsome rusticated courses of the foundation (Pl. 7b) were originally exposed to sight throughout their entire length. Later this lane seems to have descended from east to west to a level which was equal to that of the floor of the Hall of Votive Gifts.

⁹⁰ F. Courby and Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos*, Paris, 1924.

⁹¹ Broken above and at the left. Pres. length 1.11 m.; pres. height 0.58 m.; thickness 0.41 m. Height of letters 0.09 m. (O: 0.077 m.). The block was found 1.45 m. north of the northern foundation and at a point 2.00 m. east of the northwest corner.

end of the façade still in fallen position. Near its preserved right end the block bears beautifully carved, late fourth-century letters ⁹² of 0.09 m. height: .ΔΑΙΟΣΙ. One recognizes before the delta the lower end of a vertical hasta, in position and shape seemingly another iota. The position in which the block was found makes it clear that it must belong to the initial part of the dedicatory inscription of the Altar-Court. — — *ιδάιος*, thus, can only be the end of the name of the dedicator, in this age, and given the character of the inscription, a ruler. The name can only be [*Ἀρρ*]*ιδάιος*,⁹³ a conclusion reached independently by various observers. Another fragment of the same dedicatory inscription has been known for more than a quarter of a century. It was discovered by Professor Salač⁹⁴ outside the northern part of the façade, presumably in the same place where we still found it and where it had been left after its discovery (Pl. 8b). Salač correctly recognized it as part of a dedicatory inscription on a fragmentary architrave block, but he was wrong in attributing it to the “New Temple” as has long been observed; his restoration, as we now see, was wrong, too, as was the mid-third century date. There was not much to go on at the time, inasmuch as the block is badly mutilated and the inscription rather worn, yet the position in which it was found even then should have indicated that it belonged to our structure.

This second fragment on a block broken at both ends⁹⁵ preserves in letters of equal size and style—ΩΝΘΕΟ—the last three letters of the block, as Salač recognized, undoubtedly the beginning of *θεο[ῆς μεγάλοις]*. Near by on the surface we found a fragment of the **M** of the missing last word.⁹⁶

Further evidence is available for the restoration. Two fragmentary marble blocks,⁹⁷ both broken on all sides, were found among débris of the structure, and at a slight distance to the north of it. They preserve parts of what evidently is a replica

⁹² Very close in character, for example, to the inscription of Kassander of 320 B.C., *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 94, 167.

⁹³ In an Ephesian honorary decree of this period, the same fragmentary name .ΠΙΔΑΙΟΝ was long ago correctly restored as [*Ἀρ*]*ιδάιον* (or [*Ἀρ*]*ιδάιον*); E. L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III, Oxford, 1890, p. 95, no. 451.

⁹⁴ *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 245 ff., fig. 1, roughly indicates the region. But, at least since 1937, the block has been seen lying at a point not opposite the corner of the structure, but 5 m. to the south. It hardly seems possible that anybody would have moved it there since the excavation of Professor Salač. Generally, in the final catastrophe, blocks fell northward. See, also, F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, p. 163; *I.G.*, XII, 8, Suppl., Berlin, 1939, 228.

⁹⁵ Pres. length 1.20 m.; height (normal architrave height of the building, identical to that of the “New Temple”) 0.65 m.; thickness 0.45 m. Size, style and position of letters identical with those of the new fragment.

⁹⁶ Now in the Museum. Acc. No. 51.718.

⁹⁷ Acc. No. 51.716. Broken on all sides and at the back. Pres. length 0.185 m.; pres. height 0.057 m. Height of letters 0.02 m. (O: 0.012 m.). Acc. No. 51.717. Broken on all sides and at the back. Pres. length 0.13 m.; pres. height 0.102 m.; size of letters the same as No. 716. The stones were more than 0.116 m. high, presumably considerably higher.

of the façade dedication in letters of much smaller size (height 0.02 m.) but of the same style. One will assume that this inscription was placed on the altar proper in the court. As bad luck had it, one fragment (Pl. 8c) again preserves the very same letters ΔΑΙΟΞΙ and, before the delta, what may well be the lower end of an iota. The second of these fragments (Pl. 8d) is more important though only the upper two thirds of four letters are preserved ΥΡΩΝ.⁹⁸ Assuming, as is natural, that the ΩΝ of both texts was in identical position,⁹⁹ we may now complete the latter part: [ἀπὸ λαφύρων θεο[ῖς] μ[εγάλους]. The inscription undoubtedly refers to the Arrhidaios who succeeded Alexander the Great.¹⁰⁰ The style of both structure and lettering points to that period, and the royal dedicatory inscription is of the kind that originated in Alexander's age and, in Samothrace, was followed by the dedications of the Arsinoeion and the Ptolemaion in the third century.

In another place, I shall publish the results of a re-examination of the sources related to Arrhidaios and attempt to correct the picture of the pathetic figure of Alexander's successor, who seems to me to have been arbitrarily neglected and misrepresented by modern historians. That misrepresentation is based on the idea that Arrhidaios was an idiot, which he certainly was not. He was feeble in health and possibly suffered from occasional epileptic fits. For our purpose, it is sufficient to state that he was able to transact royal business and make public appearances¹⁰¹ and that a Samothracian dedication in his name, was naturally a dedication ordered by him.

Arrhidaios had accompanied Alexander on his campaigns and served as his

⁹⁸ Georges Daux first identified the first letter as unquestionably an Υ and suggested the restoration.

⁹⁹ The formula ἀπὸ λαφύρων seems of archaic origin (see above, p. 6, note 21). While most preserved fourth century and early Hellenistic dedications seem to use other formulae, a dedication at Pergamon of 145 B.C. by Eumenes II (*Inscriptionen von Pergamon*, 60, Michel, *Recueil*, 1218) reads: βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἀπὸ] τῷ[ν ἡγμένων ἐκ τ]ῆς στρατιᾶς λαφύρων. See also ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων in the late third century B.C. inscription of the Rhodian admiral Peisistratos, *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1135.

¹⁰⁰ His namesake, who was in charge of the bearing of Alexander's body to Egypt and later satrap of Bithynia on the Hellespont, never assumed royal dignity and hardly can be credited with any such dedication. It should be mentioned that the name Arrhidaios may conceivably be preserved in another Samothracian inscription which has ΑΡΙΔ— at the beginning of one line. *I.G.*, XII, 8, No. 231 (ill. A. Conze, *Reisen auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, Hannover, 1860, pl. XVI, fig. 3). It has been restored to read Εὐαθ[λος] | Ἀριδ[ήλον] | τὴν σ[τιβάδα] | θε[οῖς]. The name Aridelos was restored here because it is found a few times in Samothrace. The beginning of four lines of this inscription is preserved at the left end of a low block of masonry which is broken at the right and must have had a rather elongated form. One could just as well suggest the following: Εὐαθ[λος τοῦ δεῖνα τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως] | Ἀριδ[αίου βωμὸν ἀνθρωπώσατο καὶ] | τὴν σ[τιβάδα καὶ τὸ — — —] | θε[οῖς Μεγάλους ἀνέθηκεν], or something like it. In this case, the inscription could have belonged to a restoration of the first century B.C. The spelling of Arrhidaios with only one rho occurs in some literary sources. The evidence is, of course, not sufficient to assume the restoration of this inscription in one way or another.

¹⁰¹ The evidence for this will be fully submitted in another place.

“minister” for religious affairs.¹⁰² Shortly before his death, Alexander himself erected altars to the Samothracian Gods in India at the eastern boundary of his exploits.¹⁰³ Among his dedications in India there was also an altar structure with a terrace altar or an altar-court, the dimension of which is given as 23.00 m.¹⁰⁴ In the days before his death in Babylon, where Arrhidaios was present, he received ambassadors from Greek sanctuaries and promised them dedications.¹⁰⁵ After his death, memoranda were said to have been found providing, among many other things, for ambitious temples in Greek and Macedonian sanctuaries.¹⁰⁶ Samothrace is not specifically mentioned in our sources in either connection; the memoranda referred to speak only of temples, not of altars. But Arrhidaios’ dedication of an altar-court in Samothrace in that period is in harmony with Alexander’s actions.

Alexander’s devotion to the Samothracian gods may have been prompted by the story of Philip’s falling in love with Olympias in Samothrace as well as by the traditional allegiance of the Macedonian royal house to the Samothracian cult documented by that very story.¹⁰⁷ And Arrhidaios may have honestly cared about that tradition himself and been devoted to the Great Gods.¹⁰⁸ However, there is another side to the matter. Olympias, Alexander’s mother, was his, the “illegitimate” child’s, irreconcilable enemy from his childhood (in which she was said to have drugged him) to his death as a result of her murderous ambition. If Arrhidaios made a spectacular dedication like this great Altar-Court in Samothrace, he proclaimed his royal position, his traditional Macedonian devotion and, as it were, he put himself under the special protection of those gods whom Olympias could claim as hers.

In a previous report, I have, for other reasons, related the elaboration of the Central Terrace Precinct and its propylon of the Dancing Maidens to the story of Philip and Olympias in Samothrace.¹⁰⁹ This precinct, also an open area for sacrificial rites, is roughly contemporary with the dedication of Arrhidaios; whether it is somewhat earlier or later remains uncertain. One now wonders whether Olympias had a hand in it.

The Altar-Court of Arrhidaios faced the area where, probably considerably

¹⁰² Curtius Rufus, X, 7, 2.

¹⁰³ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll. Tyan.*, II, 43.

¹⁰⁴ Diodorus, XVII, 95, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Diodorus, XVIII, 13, 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 4, 1 ff. I shall discuss the debated question of the authenticity of these documents in a forthcoming article on Arrhidaios.

¹⁰⁷ See *Hesperia*, XX, 1952, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ For Macedonian allegiance to Samothrace see: O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer von Eleusis und Samothrake*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 143 f. The new dedication of Arrhidaios now closes a gap in this tradition.

¹⁰⁹ *Hesperia*, loc. cit.

later, a theatre¹¹⁰ was built. Its cavea rose on the slope of the western hill beyond the bed of the river which, at that time, may have been channelled under its orchestra. Possibly related to the theatre is a wall that flanked the eastern side of the river bed. We found a section of that wall 4.70 m. to the west of the northern part of the façade of the Altar-Court and parallel to it. There is no room here for a stage building which would have blocked both the façade and the entrance to the Altar-Court. It seems obvious that this very façade served later as the background of the orchestra in lieu of a stage building, a relationship similar to that of the Thersilion in Megalopolis and the Theatre there. We hope that future work in this area will clarify this connection.

The Altar-Court of Arrhidaios was dedicated to the group of the "Great Gods" which seems to have been considered the principal circle of deities in the sanctuary, both in the public festivals and ceremonies and in the secret mystery rites. If, on the other hand, the spectacular rotunda dedicated shortly afterward to the same divinities by Arsinoë over a very ancient sacrificial area was also, as we have good reasons to believe, a Thymele built for sacrifices,¹¹¹ and if the Central Terrace Precinct, too, served such a purpose in connection with specific legends and performances related to some of these gods,¹¹² we must conclude that a succession of spectacular sacrificial ceremonies took place in the great festivals. As the other two conspicuous sacrificial structures have archaic forerunners, so, too, the Altar-Court of Arrhidaios may elaborate an earlier sacrificial area.

Beyond doubt the rituals included minor ceremonies on the altars of other divinities several of which we have uncovered: one to the west of the Arsinoëion,¹¹³ one to the north of the "New Temple"¹¹⁴ and a third, also of archaic origin, to the northeast of the Central Terrace. The latter was uncovered at the end of the campaign of 1950¹¹⁵ and we finished our work in that section during the campaign of 1951.

¹¹⁰ The theatre cavea was discovered by Champoiseau in 1891 and it is said that seventeen steps were uncovered then, of which only the uppermost four remained exposed for some time afterwards: O. Kern, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 342 f.; *idem*, *Arch. Anz.*, VIII, 1893, col. 131. Presumably seven of these same steps were again uncovered in 1923, and the discovery of the cavea of a theatre or telesterion was announced: *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 541; XLVIII, 1924, pp. 504 f.; Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, p. 174. A detailed report of this excavation was announced as imminent in 1924: *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 503. The steps then visible were shown in illustrations, *ibid.*, fig. 17, and *Sbirka* (*op. cit.*, above, note 85), fig. 6. They had been taken off by stone robbers before my visit to Samothrace in 1937.

¹¹¹ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 13.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, pp. 21 ff.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, p. 33.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 7b.

This altar and its setting (Pl. 8f) have peculiarly interesting features. The altar itself, originally a huge rectangularly cut boulder put on top of a flattened rock and surrounded by a step which was widened to serve as a prothesis on the southeastern side, so that the sacrificer faced northwest, dates from the sixth century.¹¹⁶ The excavation of its surroundings revealed that it was situated in a kind of rocky glade. Immediately to the northeast of the altar, what has been described in previous reports¹¹⁷ as a "rocky cliff" emerges precipitously to a height of *ca.* 4 m. above the ground level. On the opposite side, an equally precipitous only slightly lower rock wall on which the northern corner of the Central Terrace was later placed¹¹⁸ curves around the southwestern side of the altar at a wider distance. This curve, continued in a lower rocky ledge which has been artificially flattened off at various levels and gaps of which have been filled out with small stones, forms a semicircle around the southeastern side of the altar to meet the cliff at the other side. Evidently, at the time of the altar's construction, a wall which has now disappeared¹¹⁹ elaborated the natural setting at the sides of the altar into a kind of horseshoe shaped, half natural, half artificial glade open in the direction toward which the sacrificer faced.

But this is not all. When the altar was built, the builders covered the ground around it with a purplish (disintegrated porphyry) mud¹²⁰ which was used elsewhere in Samothrace and is still used there for creating a water-tight layer. That this mud was not natural to the region but had been brought in artificially was observed by Mr. Daykin, who pointed out that its layers are not horizontal but descend from the fringe of the glade towards the center. Near the southern corner of the altar, a large natural rock emerges from this clay bed; under it, when our excavation had reached this level, a spring began to flow temporarily and water collected in the clay bed near the altar (Pl. 8e). In antiquity, when conditions on then "wooded,"¹²¹ now barren, Samothrace were quite different, this spring may have been quite copious and was certainly perennial.

We thus obtain the astonishing picture of an old altar for chthonic sacrifices¹²² in a setting of rocky scenery, artificially elaborated into a glade containing a spring.

When in the late fourth century the Central Terrace was built and the road that

¹¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* More ceramic finds confirming this date were made around the step foundation in 1951.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, pp. 7 f., pl. 5a.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, pl. 7b.

¹¹⁹ Its complete destruction was caused by the road that Early Christian lime burners cut through this region and through the fourth-century B.C. fill over and around the altar. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 41 f.

¹²⁰ This mud was also used to fill foundation ditches of the Altar-Court of Arrhidaios and of the third-century B.C. "New Temple." It was used, too, for waterproofing in the setting of the Victory of Samothrace.

¹²¹ Homer, *Iliad*, XIII, 12.

¹²² *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 33.

led to it and its precinct passed the old sacred spot on a higher level,¹²³ the altar was raised. Marble chips from the work of that period were found over the old clay floor. Then a gravel layer was brought in over the old spring, a common device to cover up a spot where water collects. Over that layer, again, marble dust of the fourth century construction was found. After that, only the new altar placed on top of its archaic predecessor recalled the romantic old spot.

We have previously¹²⁴ suggested that the legend of the Kerynthian Cave of Hekate in Samothrace may have been rooted in the rocky scenery of this region south of the Arsinoeion. One is tempted to think that the setting around this archaic altar may have given origin to this "cave" and that the altar was dedicated to Hekate.

A curious, and, though badly weathered, completely preserved little object of Thasian marble (0.051 m. high) was found in the gravel fill near this altar and therefore antedates the late fourth century B.C. (Pl. 6f). It is in the form of a tall three-sided pyramid and is strikingly similar in shape to the "cakes" that often appear in Greek representations. In the mystery sanctuary of Samothrace, one is reminded of the *πυραμίδα* which ancient tradition mentions as symbols in mystery cults.¹²⁵ On the other hand, one wonders whether an object found so close to what for other reasons has been suggested as an altar of Hekate may not have been a kind of aniconic symbol of the divinity, otherwise represented in a naturalizing combination of three bodies.

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¹²³ *Loc. cit.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, pp. 7 f., note 22.

¹²⁵ See *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 355 and note 39.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952

(PLATES 10-16)

THE seventeenth season of excavation devoted by the American School of Classical Studies to the Athenian Agora ran from February into July of 1952.¹ New ground was broken around the Church of the Holy Apostles at the southeast corner of the square and this led to a substantial increase in our knowledge of the development of the Agora in both its earlier and later phases. Within the square excavation was completed in various areas which had been superficially explored between the Wars: to the east and west of the Odeion, to the north of the Temple of Ares (where a ground altar of the archaic period came to light), and in the northeast corner both in front of and behind the Stoa of Attalos. In addition to yielding a good deal of information on the history of the square, this deep digging has, as always, brought out from tombs and wells much evidence for early habitation in the region. Two chamber tombs and three pit burials of the Late Helladic III period were opened, one pit grave of the Submycenaean and one of the late Geometric age. Sixteen wells were cleared with a range in date from Late Helladic III to Byzantine; of particular interest are groups of pottery of the seventh century B.C. from two of the wells.

The veteran staff remained as in the previous season. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool divided his time between academic duties, the supervision of an area of excavation and responsibility for the Agora during the absence of the undersigned. Miss Lucy Talcott has continued in charge of records and the museum and has smoothed the way for all those engaged in the study of Agora material. Miss Barbara Philippaki returned to assist Miss Talcott in the autumn of 1952 after spending the session

¹ Thanks are due as always to the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service for facilities freely rendered, in particular Professor A. Orlandos, head of the Department of Antiquities, Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos of the National Museum and Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor.

The undertaking continues to be fortunate in the competence and devotion of its Greek technical staff headed by Mr. Sophokles Lekkas as Chief Foreman. Of the many persons who assisted on a voluntary basis during the year particular thanks are due to Mr. Alexander Lattimore for help in the photographic laboratory.

As in past years, Professor John L. Caskey, Director of the School, has given generously of his time and care to this department of the School's activities. Nor could the undertaking have continued without the energetic support of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Ward Canaday, and the Chairman of the Managing Committee, Professor Charles H. Morgan. The actual prosecution of the work has depended, and will continue to depend, on generous financial assistance both from institutions and from individuals.

1951-52 in membership at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. During Miss Philippaki's absence her place was taken by Miss Alikí Halepa who has since remained as a museum assistant. Miss Alison Frantz remains responsible for a growing volume of photography and Mr. John Travlos continued as architect of the excavations until departing in the autumn of 1952 to take up a one-year membership in the Institute for Advanced Study. Miss Margaret Crosby supervised the excavation of the large block of new ground at the southeast corner of the square. Miss Virginia Grace, with the help of her experienced assistant, Miss Maria Savatianou, has continued her study of wine jars with a view to their publication in corpus form. Mrs. Elizabeth G. Caskey has continued the arduous task of identifying the coins from the current excavation, to the great satisfaction of the excavators.

As in past years, the Agora once more profited from the participation of scholars holding Fulbright grants. Professor Henry S. Robinson of the University of Oklahoma spent the full year in an intensive study of the pottery of the Roman period (86 B.C. into the sixth century) from the Agora Excavations and also travelled extensively in the Near East to examine comparative material. He is spending the year 1952-53 as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, digesting and writing. Professor W. Kendrick Pritchett of the University of California devoted the year to a study of the inscribed records of the sale of the goods of Alkibiades and his accomplices in the profaning of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms (415 B.C.). By the end of the year he had completed the epigraphic study on paper and had recomposed in physical form (with some supplementary plaster) two out of a probable total of eleven great stelai. In sorting out and attributing the many fragments to their proper stelai, Professor Pritchett profited greatly from the help of Dr. Norman Herz, a trained geologist, who spent the year in Greece applying his special knowledge to the solution of this and other problems on which geologist and archaeologist could work together to their mutual advantage, e. g. the more certain identification of Greek marbles and the considerations that governed the employment of various kinds of stone in the different parts of an ancient Greek building. All the above scholars held Fulbright Research Grants.

Two holders of predoctoral Fulbright grants also devoted much of the year to the Agora. Miss Marion R. Holland, trained both in archaeology and architecture, acted as assistant architect and in particular began the study of the many additional fragments from the superstructure of the Temple of Ares which have come to light since Professor Dinsmoor's original study.² Mr. Norman A. Doenges made his debut in field archaeology by supervising an area of excavation.

Professor Richard H. Howland of the Johns Hopkins University spent the summer of 1952 in Athens completing the study of the lamps of the Greek period

² *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

from the Agora (down to 86 B.C.). Mr. Peter Corbett of the British Museum, with the assistance of a grant from the American Philosophical Society, in the months August to October, 1952, carried out a fruitful piece of research on the technical aspects of the stamped and black-glazed pottery of the fourth century B.C. Professor Cedric Boulter of the University of Cincinnati completed the study of a richly varied well group of the mid fifth century B.C. In the course of a brief visit in the summer of 1952 Mrs. Evelyn L. Smithson of the Institute for Advanced Study supervised the clearance of a number of early wells and a grave and studied, with a view to publication, the material from the graves of the Protogeometric period. The supervision of field work was shared this season, as last, by Miss Rebecca C. Wood, Special Fellow of the School. Miss E. Patricia Neils, a student of the School, by joining a marble knee found near the Temple of Ares with a statue discovered in the making of the Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1891, identified the figure as an akroterion from the Temple.

THE SOUTHEAST AREA

Excavation

It had long been realized that the eleventh-century Church of the Holy Apostles overlay one of the cardinal points in Athenian topography, viz. the southeast corner of the Agora. The exploration of the region became possible through the demolition of a group of private dwellings to the south of the Church in the autumn of 1951 and through agreement with the Ministry of Education and Religion regarding the reduction in the area of the churchyard to the north of the building. Since this is still the parish church of the neighborhood, access to it has been maintained by shifting gateways and stairs. It is hoped that the nineteenth-century addition which now dwarfs the original part of the Church may eventually be removed. When the exploration has been completed the building will be protected by retaining walls and embellished by planting. It may then be appreciated as one of the earliest and most attractive of the surviving churches of Byzantine Athens and it will at the same time from its lofty site be one of the most prominent and pleasing features of the Agora park.

The exploration of the area both to the south and to the north of the Church was supervised by Miss Margaret Crosby, on whose observations the following account is largely based.

The excavation revealed that the terrain in antiquity had sloped rather steeply down toward both the north and the west, a circumstance which had much to do with the disposition of the ancient buildings. It also happens that the area lies at the foot of a shallow gulley which separates the northern slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus. This had exposed it to especially heavy silting; to the northwest of the Church, for instance, the accumulated debris and silt lay to a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres above the

floors of the ancient buildings. The exploration accordingly involved the removal, at great cost, of a vast volume of earth; fortunately the results may claim to have justified the outlay.

The Southern Limit of the Early Square

Immediately to the south of the Church appeared the foundations of two early buildings which form a jagged line with a third building to the west already partially exposed in 1936 (Pls. 10-13). The large fountain house discovered in 1934³ at the southwest corner of the Agora region presumably stood at the western extremity of this line. It is hoped that the removal of the northern block of the Excavation Houses in the fall of 1952 and the campaign of 1953 will fill the gap in the row.

It is already clear, however, that this row of buildings constituted the southern limit of the Agora from the sixth and fifth centuries until the great reorganization of the second century B.C.⁴ The discovery thus helps greatly in visualizing both the scheme and the extent of the early square. Having in mind that the Stoa Poikile, dating a little before the middle of the fifth century, must have closed the north side of the square just beyond the limits of the present excavation, we observe that as early as the end of the fifth century the Agora was fairly compactly bordered by public buildings on three sides: the west, north and south. We have as yet no certain trace of substantial buildings on the east side before the abortive beginning on the construction of the square market building in the late fourth or early third century B.C.⁵ The north to south dimension of the open square of the early Agora may be estimated as about 200 metres and its east to west breadth will have been about the same; its area, therefore, must have been little less than ten acres.

The early buildings that faced northward across the square presented their backs to an important east to west thoroughfare that ran between the Agora and the foot of the Acropolis and Areopagus to provide communication between the Piraeus Gate in the western city wall and the eastern parts of the town. The ancient road is directly overlaid by the modern Observatory Street, illustrating once more the age-long persistence of such natural thoroughfares.

Of the three early buildings in the area of the Church, the westernmost has a width of 15.50 m. and has been exposed from its eastern end a distance of 23 m., but its west end has not yet been fixed. It is divided longitudinally by a wall that is set

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360; XVIII, 1949, pp. 133 f.

⁴ This would seem at first glance to violate the evidence of the boundary stone of the Agora, dating from ca. 500 B.C., which still stands *in situ* to the southeast of the Tholos (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4; Supplement IV, 1940, p. 107). This marker, however, stood at the junction of lines of traffic coming both from the southwest and south and may therefore have been intended primarily to delimit the Agora toward the west rather than toward the south.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 99-102. The date in the time of Lykourgos previously proposed for this enterprise may have to be lowered by the further study of pottery and coins.

somewhat south of middle. Crosswalls (not shown on the plan) divide both north and south parts into rooms of various size. There is no trace of a colonnade. Both the wall socle and the orthostates that still stand in places on it are cut from soft, cream-colored poros. The construction is good and substantial. The little evidence thus far available would suggest a date in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The building continued in use until it was razed to make way for the South Stoa in the second century. The characteristic plan of the structure leaves little doubt that it housed shops, the larger rooms to the north being the places of business, the back rooms serving for storage or domestic purposes.

The easternmost of the three early buildings measures *ca.* 13.60 x 16.60 m. overall. Its outer foundations, built of massive squared blocks of soft, cream-colored poros, are 1.20 to 1.30 m. in thickness. There is no indication of exterior columns. Traces of interior walls dividing the building into a number of rooms have not yet been fully cleared nor plotted. Nowhere do the walls now rise above the ancient floor level, and the floor itself has been largely disturbed by late intruders. The northwest corner has not yet been exposed. The evidence of material, construction and a little associated pottery suggests a very tentative dating in the latter part of the fifth century. The original purpose of the building is as yet obscure. In the early Roman period a number of kilns set deep beneath the old floor level obviously served some industrial use. In one room of an annex placed against the east side of this building are the cup-shaped bedding holes for four large storage jars.

The Southeast Fountain House

The best preserved of the early buildings bordering the south side of the early square is an hydraulic establishment, a long rectangle in plan, measuring 6.80 x 18.20 m. overall, with its major axis approximately east and west (Pls. 10, 13, Fig. 1). Although the areas both to north and to south are still unexcavated, there can be little doubt that the building opened northward on the square and that, like its neighbors, it presented its back to the important east to west roadway that ran parallel to the south side of the square. It was separated by narrow alleys from the buildings to east and west.

Although the walls nowhere rise more than one course above the ancient floor level and even the foundations in many places have been entirely stripped, enough remains to indicate the general lines of the original scheme and to give a hint as to the nature of an extensive remodelling carried out in the Greek period.

The building originally comprised three parts: a large central area, which presumably served as a lobby, and lesser areas, one at either end, measuring *ca.* 3.20 x 5.00 m., which are shown by the waterproofing of the floors and by the provision for drainage to have been water basins. A parapet with supporting posts is presumably to be restored between the middle space and either basin, but of this only the under-

pinning remains. The floor of the western basin lay about one foot lower than that of the eastern and both basins descended below the floor level of the central room. At present the difference in level between the central area and the floor of the east basin is *ca.* 0.15 m., but, since there is reason to believe that the floor of the mid part was cut down by about one foot in the course of the reconstruction, the original difference would have been accordingly greater.

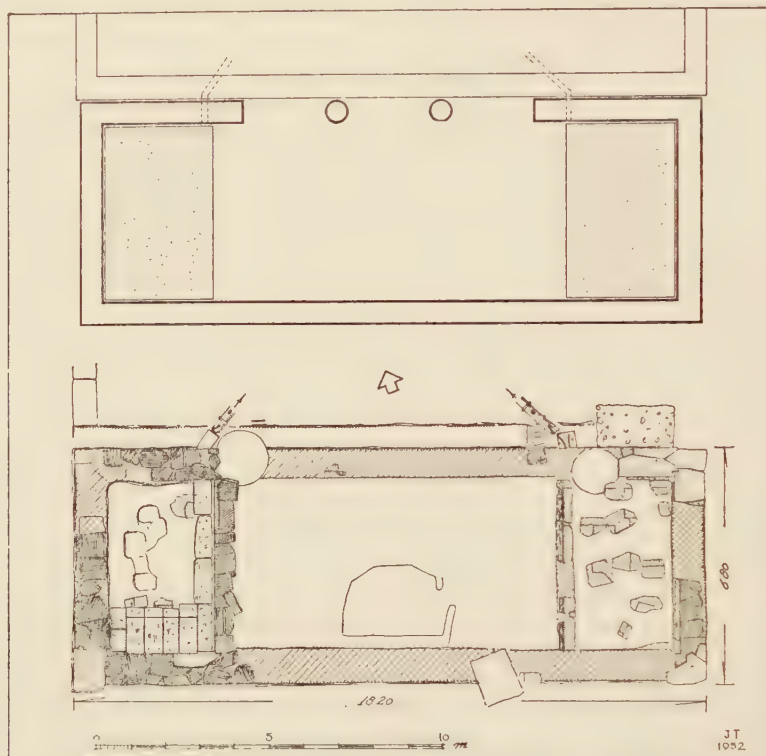


Fig. 1. Southeast Fountain House: Actual State and Tentative Restoration.

The central room has suffered most grievously; virtually nothing remains either of its walls or original floor. Shallow beddings for continuous stone foundations may, however, be traced throughout the length of the north and south sides. A still more shallow bedding outside the line of the north wall may well have been occupied by a step; this has suggested, and it is indeed the only evidence for, the restoration of columns in this side of the building.

The wall foundations in the area of the end basins are markedly deeper than those on the sides of the middle room, no doubt because these walls served both as the outer walls of the building and as the sides of the water basins (Pl. 13b). The stone is a hard gray poros, not quite creamy enough to be the normal Kará limestone.

The jointing is polygonal throughout; it becomes increasingly more careful in the upper courses until in the first course above floor level, as represented by a few surviving blocks at the southeast and northeast corners, both the vertical joints and the horizontal beds are finished with great precision. The inner face of the one course that survives above floor level is finished smooth and is unstuccoed. Traces on its top indicate that the face of the next course was set back *ca.* 5 centimetres. The top inner edge of the surviving course is slightly rubbed from wear in both basins. One clamp of Z shape remains in place in the first course above floor level at the northeast corner.

Of particular interest is the flooring of the basins which would appear to have been identical at both ends of the building. The floor consisted of thin slabs of milky white marble, 0.03-0.08 m. thick, irregular in shape and size, and jointed in much the same polygonal scheme as the wall courses. In the mid part of the basin the slabs rested on irregular masses of limestone set down in the bedrock; along the walls their edges were housed in a rabbet cut in the top of a wall course in such a way that the edges of the slabs were overlaid by the blocks of the next course.⁶ A gap of about two centimetres between the actual edge of the flooring and the stone of the wall was waterproofed with a packing of viscous yellow clay. The intermediate joints between slabs were worked with such precision as to be virtually invisible and were no doubt waterproof for all practical purposes.

From the inner angle of the north end of each basin a drain made of round terracotta pipes of normal archaic type led off diagonally as though to converge at a point now overlaid by the Church of the Holy Apostles. The drainage was carried through the wall in a stone channel set at the floor level of the basin. It is conceivable, though the ruinous condition of the wall makes certainty impossible, that there was also an outlet at a higher level.


Up to this point the restoration is reasonably certain. The provision for drainage and waterproofing leaves no doubt that we have to do with an hydraulic establishment. The water was undoubtedly concentrated in the end basins; the thinness and delicacy of the flooring in those areas make it unlikely that they were normally accessible. It may be supposed that the water was stored to some depth in the basins (so much is implied by the massive construction of the walls), and that it was drawn over parapets by people standing in the central room.

The building is unusual in plan, particularly in having two basins separated by a lobby. Yet a scheme basically similar to this has been inferred by Orlandos for a fountain house represented on a black-figured hydria in the Louvre,⁷ and a splendid

⁶ A similar arrangement has been observed in a fountain house on Paros, probably of the fourth century: O. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 203, fig. 6.

⁷ *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1916, p. 100, fig. 11, K and fig. 34.

fountain house probably of the fourth century B.C. on Tenos comprises two draw basins separated by a large exhedra.⁸

What was the source of the water? Although the water table remained close to the floor level of the ancient building throughout the summer of 1952, there is nothing to suggest that any immediately local source was tapped. Yet there is no trace of a piped supply in the surviving parts of the structure. The most likely source would appear to be a subterranean aqueduct which has been exposed over a length of some metres to the southeast of the present building and which continued westward beneath the ancient roadway to terminate in the other large fountain house discovered in 1934 at the southwest corner of the Agora (cf. above, p. 28). The floor, walls and roof of the channel are built of heavy blocks of soft brown poros and the interior dimensions, 0.60 x 1.00 m., are such as to permit the passage of a workman. The water was carried in terracotta pipes which rested in a concave trough cut in the floor of the channel. The pipes now in place are -shaped, but these may well be replacements of original round pipes. Since this conduit must have passed within ten metres of our building, it is tempting to regard it as the source, although admittedly the connection has yet to be established and the problem can scarcely be settled until the aqueduct has been more completely explored.

A date in the second half of the sixth century is suggested for the fountain house by the material and the stone work of the original parts which have much in common with the Old Temple on the Acropolis and, still more, with the Old Temple of Dionysos below the Theatre. Such a date would be congruent with the little pottery that has as yet been found in association with the first period: this pottery breaks off at about the middle of the century. It may also be significant in this connection that two wells which opened a few metres to the southeast of the fountain house went out of use about the middle of the sixth century.

The remodelling of the fountain house, to which reference has already been made, may be dated tentatively, again on the evidence of material, workmanship and a limited amount of pottery, in the second half of the fifth century. Although the details must remain largely conjectural, the scheme of the building would seem to have been altered radically. The marble floor of the western basin was removed and the area was overlaid by a massive packing of large squared blocks of soft, creamy poros. There is reason to believe that the floor level of the central room was now lowered and that the packing of poros blocks was continued over its whole length as also over the east basin, which probably lost its marble floor on this same occasion. The original drains were, of course, put out of use by this move. Their place was taken by a carefully plastered open stone channel which had its beginning at the extreme southeast corner of the building; from this point it ran due east to the wall

⁸ Orlandos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 608-620.

of the neighboring building and thence proceeded northward at the foot of that wall. The remainder of the narrow area between the two buildings was now covered with a cement floor sloping down to the channel; the cement was laid over the stone paving of what had previously been an alley between the buildings.

How the building was used henceforth and why it was thus altered can be learned, if at all, only by the fuller exploration of the environs.

The overflow from the fountain house was carried northward in the continuation of the open stone channel that issues from the southeast corner of the building. Its course, bordering the west edge of the Panathenaic Way, has been traced throughout the excavated area; at intervals it is punctuated by round dip basins.^{8a} A corresponding arrangement served the west side of the square: a similar open stone channel, likewise equipped with basins, carried the overflow from the other large fountain house along the east edge of the principal thoroughfare. Still a third conduit of this type is known to have bordered the road which led out from a point near the southwest corner of the square toward the Piraeus Gate.⁹ These facilities were no doubt in the mind of Plato as he made his observations on civic water supply in the *Laws* (VI, 761c) and the *Kritias* (117). Plato had the overflow from the fountains used for watering the groves of Poseidon and the other gods, and we shall note below (p. 46) an instance of this practice in the Agora.¹⁰ One can imagine many other practical uses to which flowing water might be put in a market place for the convenience of both man and beast. The arrangement is also familiar, of course, in stadia.

The later history of the newly found fountain house is as yet obscure. The sinking of a well immediately to the south of the building in the third century after Christ suggests that it had gone out of use by that time, conceivably in consequence of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Much of the foundation stone at the west end of the building was removed in the fifth or sixth centuries; further pillaging occurred, especially in the central and eastern parts, in the Byzantine period, perhaps at the time of the erection of the Church of the Holy Apostles (early eleventh century).

It would be well to consider the possibility of the fountain house having gone out of use as such long before the third century after Christ. There is evidence for the existence of a fountain at the south end of the terrace of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora (below, p. 37). As yet the foundations barely protrude from the excavation scarp to the north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Pl. 14b); they may be more fully explored by cautious trenching in the future. Already, however,

^{8a} The existing stone channel along the Panathenaic Way is probably of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period; the exact line and form of the earlier period have not yet been established.

⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 156 f.

¹⁰ The Agora of Thasos was served by a similar system of channels and basins (*B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 254-256, figs. 44 and 45); so too was the Herakleion of Thasos (M. Launey, *Le Sanctuaire et le Culte d'Héraklès à Thasos*, Paris, 1944, pp. 23 f.).

one can distinguish two periods. To the earlier phase belongs a floor, with an east to west dimension of *ca.* 6 metres, made of fragments of tile set on edge and covered with cement. The floor was bordered by a wall of *opus reticulatum*¹¹ and sloped down eastward to a drain hole communicating with the earlier open stone water channel. Subsequently the wall of *opus reticulatum* was demolished and a massive podium with concrete core faced with re-used poros blocks was set down on the cement floor. A new basin with tiled floor and bordering wall was now constructed against the east front of the East Stoa; it discharged its overflow into a new underground drain through a hole protected by a marble slab with a rosette design in openwork. Six marble slabs which had been re-used in a Byzantine tomb a few metres to the north of these foundations evidently derive from an hydraulic establishment as shown by grooves in their edges for waterproofing material and by traces of a thin parapet on their tops. A small statue of Venus Genetrix type in which the original apple was replaced with a water pitcher was recovered from a house foundation of the Turkish period in the same area; it would be thoroughly appropriate for the embellishment of a fountain house or nymphaeum (below, pp. 53-54).

This assortment of evidence is too meagre as yet to permit of many conclusions; but it does suffice to establish the existence of a fountain at the south end of the terrace in front of the East Stoa. It may be observed further that this source in its time would have been more conveniently accessible than the old fountain house which must have appeared out of the way after the construction of the East Stoa.¹² It remains problematic, however, whether the new fountain supplemented or supplanted the old.

The emergence of a large fountain house of the archaic period inevitably rouses again the old hydra of Athenian topography, viz. the problem of the Enneakrounos. Of recent years there has been a growing inclination to identify as the Enneakrounos mentioned by Pausanias the fountain house discovered in 1934 at the southwest corner of the Agora area.¹³ The periegete records the Enneakrounos between his mention of the Odeion of Agrippa and the Hephaisteion (I, 14, 1). The southwest fountain house could readily have been visited, or at least seen, by one going from the Odeion to the Hephaisteion by the logical route that led through the propylon south of the Tholos. A difficulty in the way of this interpretation has, however, been the fact that Pausanias refers to temples of Demeter and Persephone and of Trip-

¹¹ This is an interesting example of a type of construction rarely used in Greece. Miss Blake dates the *floruit* of *opus reticulatum* in Italy as from about the middle of the first century B.C. to about the middle of the first century after Christ (*Ancient Roman Construction*, Washington, 1947, p. 253).

¹² A similar arrangement is known for the Stoa of Attalos: a capacious fountain house set against the retaining wall at the south end of the stoa terrace. This will be discussed in the forthcoming publication of the Stoa.

¹³ Cf. E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 131 f.

tolemaios as "above the fountain house." These temples in all probability stood in the Eleusinion which can be identified, with something approaching certainty, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.¹⁴ Temples thus situated could well have been described as above the newly found fountain house. But before identifying this building with Pausanias' Enneakrounos one must face several difficulties. To have seen it on his way from the Odeion to the Hephaisteion Pausanias must have followed an extraordinarily roundabout route. In the structure of the building as we know it, moreover, there would appear to be no logical occasion for the use of nine spouts. Furthermore, the radical revamping of the building, which is attested by the actual remains and which one might be tempted to identify with the transformation from Kallirrhoe to Enneakrounos, is certainly much too late to have been carried out by the Peisistratids, the known authors of that change.¹⁵ Finally, there is the uncertainty as to whether or not the newly found building was still functioning as a fountain house in the time of Pausanias.

In view of all this uncertainty, and at least until both fountain houses and the aqueduct have been more thoroughly explored and studied, it would seem discreet to refer to the building discovered in 1934 as the Southwest Fountain House and to the one found in 1952 as the Southeast Fountain House. They have been so labelled on the new plans (Pls. 10, 11).

THE COMMERCIAL AGORA

Historical Development

No less interesting than the new light shed by the past season's work on the early history of the south side of the square has been the elucidation of the development of this area in the Hellenistic period.

The sprawling early square, well watered and no doubt well provided with shade trees, had served many departments of community life: political, judicial, commercial, dramatic, social. In the course of time special provision was made for certain of these functions. At a date in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. the political assembly sought a quieter meeting place on the slopes of the Pnyx Hill. About the same time dramatic performances were transferred to the more sheltered south slope of the Acropolis. Court houses were erected around the square in the fifth and fourth centuries. Pleasant promenades for social intercourse were provided by the erection of the Stoa Poikile in the mid fifth and the Stoa of Zeus in the late fifth century. Among the latest activities to receive adequate special accommodation was commerce. As outlined

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁵ This alteration, as also the construction of the large stone aqueduct, is conceivably the hydraulic works covered by I.G., I², 54 of 437/6 (?) B.C. Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, Princeton, 1949, p. 74, D 19; A. Wilhelm, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 128. There is mention of a water channel (ἀγωγή) and perhaps also of a fountain (κρήνη).

in the report on the previous season's work,¹⁶ an informal market place dating from the early fourth century has been recognized beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. In the late fourth or early third century this made way for a more substantial square colonnaded structure which, however, was never completed. Finally, in the second century, and probably in the 60's, the bold decision was made to divide the old area in such a way as to result in a large, almost square plaza to the north and a long narrow space to the south. The main area served the more seemly aspects of public life; the lesser appears to have been a market-place proper.

The first element in this great program of modernization was the Middle Stoa which effected the actual division and faced on both squares. Then in successive stages each of the squares was more precisely defined and embellished with new buildings. Around the very middle of the second century the east side of the main square was closed by the Stoa of Attalos; a quarter of a century later the Metroon rose on the west side. Both of these buildings presented marble porches to the square. The excavations of 1952 have shown that a similar development occurred in the lesser square. Soon after the erection of the Middle Stoa, a short double colonnade, which we shall call the East Stoa, was carried south at right angles from the east end of the Middle Stoa in such a way as to leave only a narrow passage between the new structure and the old shop building along the extreme south side of the lesser square. Finally, after the provision of new shops in the Stoa of Attalos, that old shop building was demolished to make way for the long, single-aisled colonnade which has been called the South Stoa. All three buildings which served to enclose the Commercial Agora were of limestone, in keeping with their utilitarian function.

The East Stoa

The East Stoa measured overall about 14 x 40.30 m. Although nowhere preserved to a level above the first step, the foundations (Pl. 14a) permit the scheme of building to be recovered with reasonable certainty (Pl. 11). The north and south ends were closed with solid walls. Columns have been restored on the long sides because of the greater width of the foundations and the presence of steps of which a few blocks are preserved toward the south end on both the east and west sides. The interaxial spacing of the columns has been assumed to be twice the length of the step blocks or about 2.60 m.; this results in fourteen columns between antae. Of the columns and entablature nothing has yet been recognized. Faced with the necessity of adjusting the marked difference in level between the area to the west of his building and the Panathenaic Way to the east, the architect boldly fixed the floor level of the east aisle about 1.35 m. higher than that of the west. This situation was largely concealed, however, by a wall on the median line of the building which was broken in

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 101.

the middle by an opening approached from the west by a stairway some 8.50 m. wide. A crosswall, which appears to be original, cut off the three southernmost bays of the west aisle; there are slight indications, not yet confirmed, of a similar arrangement at the north end of the same aisle. The east aisle was floored with a mosaic of white marble chips. Set in this floor in the south half of the aisle, in a north to south row at intervals of 1.80 to 2.00 m., are four large marble bedding blocks with a square sinking in each of the four corners as though for the support of tables.

To the east of the East Stoa is a level terrace some 8 m. wide. Here again the architect had to contend with a difficult terrain, the land rising toward both the east and the south. The adjustment was made by means of a long flight of stairs of which three, out of an original five, remain in place toward the south (Pl. 14b). As observed above (p. 33), the south end of the terrace would appear to have been occupied by a fountain house, but neither the southern limit of the terrace nor the southeast corner of the East Stoa itself has yet been exposed.

The East Stoa was thus a small but useful building. It screened the east end of the Commercial Agora from the Panathenaic Way and yet provided easy communication from one to the other. Like its great neighbor, the Middle Stoa, this building also had a dual personality, looking as it did both westward on the Commercial Agora and eastward on the broadened part of the Panathenaic Way which was later (*ca.* A.D. 100) to be flanked on the opposite side by the porch of the Library of Pantainos.

There is little evidence as yet for the precise dating of the East Stoa. It is certainly later, however, than the Middle Stoa against which it was thrust, but, to judge from the similarity in material and workmanship, not much later. Its structural relation with the Middle Stoa can scarcely have been happy. The foundations of the two buildings are separated by an interval just wide enough to accommodate the marble gutter which carried off the drip from the south roof of the Middle Stoa, and the East Stoa projects slightly beyond the line of the east end of its neighbor.¹⁷

The South Stoa

The construction of the next unit, the South Stoa, would seem to have followed closely on the completion of the East Stoa, if again one may judge from similarity of material and technique. This latest building is only one aisle in width.¹⁸ Its east end was thrust against the west face of the East Stoa in such a way as to cover the three southernmost bays of the earlier building. The floor level of the South Stoa was slightly lower than that of its neighbor, a difference which was made good by a single

¹⁷ A similar and no doubt equally unsatisfactory juxtaposition of stoas has been observed at both the southwest and northeast corners of the Agora of Thasos (R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, p. 513).

¹⁸ The South Stoa was discovered and in large part exposed in 1936 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f.).

step between the two buildings. The ground plan indicates that the structural relationship between the East Stoa and the South Stoa was of a more organic nature than that between the East Stoa and the Middle Stoa, but evidence is lacking for a detailed restoration. Several stylobate blocks of the South Stoa remain in place toward the east end. On them are traces of the setting of fluted Doric columns from which may derive a fragment of a fluted shaft of gray poros found near by. The building has been exposed to a length of 90 metres, but its west end has not yet appeared.

Later History of the Area

In the Roman period the south walls of both the East and South Stoas were extensively rebuilt with free use of concrete and mortar. It was perhaps on this same occasion that the eastern part of the South Stoa was divided by cross walls into shops: a belated recognition of what must have seemed from the beginning an obvious lack in this part of the Agora.

The buildings around the Commercial Agora were undoubtedly destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, and the bulk of their stonework was no doubt removed for incorporation in the "Valerian Wall" which was built soon thereafter. In the neighborhood of A.D. 400 much of the area was overlaid by the great gymnasium complex which spread its tentacles over the whole central area of the ancient square (Pl. 12). During the past season a beginning was made on opening up a well-built octagonal room with rectangular antechamber on its north side which formed the extreme southeast corner of the Gymnasium. This part of the Gymnasium, like the contemporary water mill to the east,¹⁹ was abandoned in the course of the sixth century, after which time there is little evidence of activity in this area until the construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles early in the eleventh century.

AREA TO THE EAST OF THE ODEION

In the program for completing the exploration of areas that had been hastily opened up between the Wars, Mr. Norman Doenges supervised excavation in the southern half of the triangle bounded by the Odeion on the west, the Panathenaic Way on the east and the terrace of the Middle Stoa on the south (Pl. 16a). Although the area had been pillaged of building material in the Roman period and greatly disturbed by habitation in the Byzantine and Turkish periods, much valuable information was gathered, especially from early graves and wells.

Two burials came to light. One, in the angle between the Odeion and the Stoa terrace wall, was the pit grave of a child furnished with a tall-stemmed kylix, a

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

feeding bottle, a small red jug and a necklace of glass-paste beads; the date is Late Helladic III. The second burial was that of a girl; her body had been laid in a shallow grave which by chance came down on the mouth of a disused well to the east of the southeast corner of the great court of the Gymnasium. The burial was accompanied by four miniature vases, two oinochoai and two 3-handled bowls, of latest Geometric style. The material from the well beneath the grave ran down in date into the second half of the eighth century, but it also included the mouth and base of what must surely have been a splendid "Dipylon amphora" which may itself be supposed to have come from a slightly earlier grave (Pl. 18a).²⁰

The area was marked by an astonishing number of early wells: four of the Geometric period in series from early to late and two of the seventh century, the range in date being from the mid ninth into the last quarter of the seventh century.²¹ Of particular interest is the latest well of the series which, though of modest depth (6.70 m.), yielded a great quantity of pottery in a wide variety of shapes. Along with the local Attic vases from this well were found a significant number of Protocorinthian which should be of value for the dating especially of the plainer Attic wares. The immediate association of the two fabrics is of particular interest at this time, the third and early last quarter of the seventh century, when the Protocorinthian product was exercising its most formative influence on the Attic. Since the well group should some day be presented as a whole, only a single piece is here illustrated: an amphora of medium size with a bold floral design around the wall and the protome of a bull on either side of the neck (Pl. 18b).²² The slender shape of the body and the profiles of neck and lip are still in the late Geometric tradition, and may also recall one of the great vases of the mid-seventh century, the Nessos amphora in New York.^{22a} Our piece, in which the black-figure style is only foreshadowed, presumably falls early within the third quarter of the century.

In the early sixth century B.C., by way of civic improvement, a gully in this area was canalized with walls of rough stonework forming a channel about one metre in both width and depth. Its sinuous south to north course has been cleared over a length of some 30 metres close along the east side of the Odeion, but neither its beginning

²⁰ P 22435. Diameter of mouth 0.505 m., preserved height 0.46 m. The panels are similar on both sides of the neck. The vase shape and scheme of decoration are closely paralleled in an amphora at Eleusis (*Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, p. 193, fig. 57). From elsewhere in the Agora comes a neck fragment with similar, though more elaborate design (Young, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, 1939, p. 180, no. C134, fig. 130 = Inv. P 7024, dated by Young at about the end of the eighth century).

²¹ Five of the six wells were cleared under the supervision of Mrs. Evelyn L. Smithson in mid summer, 1952.

²² Inv. P 22299. Height 0.50 m., diameter of body 0.287 m. Traces of purple remain on the bull's neck, on the tongue pattern, on the band below the tongues, and on the hearts of the palmettes.

^{22a} Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 86-87; Beazley, *Development of Attic Black Figure* (Sather Classical Lectures, XXIV), 1951, p. 7; Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-5, p. 192.

nor end has yet been found, nor the reason why it was allowed to fill up in the middle of the sixth century.

A group of four monument bases, two of them of great scale, came to light in the angle between the Odeion and the terrace of the Middle Stoa. Three of the four were clearly placed in relation to the terrace wall; the fourth, almost square in plan, is so obviously fitted into the angle between Odeion and terrace wall as to imply that it dates after the erection of the Odeion (*ca.* 15 B.C.). All the bases, alas, are stripped to their lowest foundations so that there is little hope of determining what they carried.

The pillaged foundation pits of the two larger monument bases were occupied by a filling datable from its pottery in the first century after Christ. A similar deposit overlay much of the bedrock in the area. This material was overlaid by several successive layers of the second and third centuries without any well defined intervening ground levels. It would appear that on several occasions in the first three centuries after Christ the level of the area was adjusted. The reasons are now obscure, but it is possible that the area, shielded as it was by the Odeion from the flow of traffic, was planted. A number of cuttings in bedrock, both rectangular and round, toward the southeast corner of the triangle may indeed mark the place of trees or shrubs.

The area was traversed by several of the well-nigh innumerable water channels which in successive periods passed diagonally through the Agora from the southeast toward the northwest. Most of the conduits exposed this year consisted of terracotta channels of \sqcup -shape dating from both the Hellenistic and Roman period. Particularly impressive is one of the late Roman period which was set down into the foundations of the largest of the pillaged monument bases but which was itself overlaid by the enclosure wall of the Gymnasium. The sides of the \sqcup -shaped terracotta channel had been built up in brickwork to a height of 0.36 m. and the channel was covered by massive \cap -shaped tiles which would have permitted the rather painful passage of a man. Among the pipelines is also one of lead, early Roman in date. The pipe was made, in the normal ancient fashion, of a long narrow sheet of metal rolled over on itself and soldered.²³ Lead water pipes are rare in comparison with those of terracotta in Athens as at other Greek sites, in part presumably because of the disadvantages noted by Vitruvius (*de Arch.* VIII, 4-11): the repair of a lead pipe required a specialist whereas anyone could fix a terracotta pipe, and with lead pipes there was always the danger of poisoning.

More was learned in the course of the season about the plan and the history of the great Gymnasium which was erected above the ruins of the Odeion and the Middle

²³ A complete specimen (Inv. IL 1267) measures 2.67 m. in length, presumably 9 feet of 0.296 m. One end is slightly trumpet-shaped to receive the end of the next pipe. The minimum interior diameter is *ca.* 0.045 m. The ancients would no doubt have referred to this as a "10-inch pipe," that being the width of the sheet of lead from which it was manufactured (actually 0.25 m.).

Stoa *ca.* A.D. 400 (Pl. 12). A square room set against the east side of the great north court near its southeast corner appears to have served as an entrance vestibule. This arrangement, however, would seem to have been shortlived since the foundations of the square room are overlaid by the angular enclosure wall running from the north court to the east end of the Gymnasium. Near the middle of the east side of the north court two smaller rooms were found to have been added at some time after the original construction. Most interesting was the discovery of five large lime-slaking pits in the angle between the Odeion and the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa. They range in area from *ca.* 3 x 4 metres to *ca.* 6 x 6 metres, their depth being *ca.* 0.75 m. Their level and the fact that they had been filled in the fifth century after Christ leaves no doubt that in them was slaked the lime for making the mortar and plaster used in the construction of the Gymnasium. This site was presumably chosen as being approximately equidistant from the various extremities of the vast complex.

Above the ruins of the late Roman Gymnasium lay the remains of houses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A well serving one of these dwellings has still to be cleared.

AREA TO THE WEST OF THE ODEION

During the season of 1952 Miss Rebecca C. Wood resumed and completed the deeper exploration of a large area which she had begun the previous year in the region bounded by the Odeion on the east, the Great Drain on the west, the Middle Stoa on the south and the Temple of Ares on the north. The remaining masses of deposit of the late Roman and Byzantine periods, as also tenuous remains of foundation walls of those periods, were removed after due study. Exploration was carried down to bedrock over much of the area, especially to the west of the Odeion itself; elsewhere it was halted at the firm-trodden, gravelled surface of the square as it was in early Roman times.

The deeper probing here as elsewhere in the Agora inevitably revealed early burials. A small, roughly hewn and perhaps unfinished chamber tomb of Late Helladic III date appeared between the great marble altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) and the Odeion (Pl. 12, Square J 10). Its dromos sloped down steeply from the north. The chamber itself yielded only a few scraps of bone and potsherds, but in the dromos lay a mass of broken and fragmentary vases of various shapes: an amphora, a skyphos, a hydria, a high-necked jug, several bowls and numerous kylikes. Since no household deposit of the Mycenaean period was encountered at ground level in the general area, this pottery is undoubtedly to be associated with the tomb, but the history of what happened is obscure. South of the southwest corner of the Temple of Ares two more modest pit graves of Late Helladic III date were cleared. Taken together with several that had been found previously in this area these may have constituted a small family burial plot. A few metres farther south a well preserved pit grave of the Submy-

cenaean period was opened under the supervision of Mrs. E. L. Smithson; its furnishings comprised one small and one medium-sized oinochoe.

Chronologically next in order is a well of the second half of the seventh century to the west of the northwest corner of the Odeion. The faulty nature of the bedrock would appear to have led to its early abandonment, perhaps even before it was completed.

Among the few structural remains encountered in the area is a light wall of rubble masonry, preserved to a height of only a few centimetres, which appears to have enclosed the northwest corner of the Odeion at an interval of *ca.* 5 metres from the building. Its level suggests that the wall is contemporary with the Odeion in its original form, but its purpose is puzzling. North of this wall, and apparently placed in relation to it, are two monument bases, one small and one large. A fragment of a life-sized horse's foot of gilded bronze found near the larger base may derive from the monument which it carried.

The great apse that springs out from the west wall of the Gymnasium near its north end was thoroughly explored. Its foundations overlie the corner of a rectangular projecting room which would seem to have been abandoned during construction in favor of the apsidal form.

To the southwest of the apse were encountered the tenuous remains of a dwelling house of informal plan and cheap construction apparently to be dated in the sixth century after Christ.

The ground level of the early Roman period contemporary with the Odeion of Agrippa was preserved only over a limited area around the northwest corner of the building. Elsewhere in the triangular space bounded by the Odeion on the east and the Southwest Temple on the south even the bedrock had been much disturbed and was overlaid by a deep mass of reddish earth, the potsherds in which were predominantly of the first century after Christ with some, however, as late as the second and third. Here and there were rectangular cuttings in the bedrock, two or three feet across and equally deep. The pottery from the earth that filled these holes was as late as of the first century after Christ. Although the situation is far from clear, it is tempting to believe that here, as to the east of the Odeion, an area which lay aside from the main lines of traffic had been repeatedly landscaped and planted.

AREA TO THE NORTH AND WEST OF THE TEMPLE OF ARES

Monument Bases

Having completed the clearance of a vast region to the south of the Temple of Ares Miss Wood transferred her activities to the areas between the west end of the Temple and the Great Drain and between the north side of the Temple and the Athens-Piraeus Railway. Here the house foundations of an extensive Byzantine settlement

had already been removed in earlier seasons. The one building of Late Roman date in the area is a large square structure with central court lying to the north of the temple (Pl. 12, Square J 6). From the many cells of the grid formed by its massive concrete foundations Miss Wood removed the remaining deposit of late Roman date to expose the gravelly surface of the square of early Roman times and to detect whatever earlier structural remains might have been spared.

The results of this exploration were at once interesting and painful. Interesting because it became clear that the area had been occupied by one of the most striking concentrations of large monuments in the whole Agora: at least a dozen, varying greatly from one another in size, shape and date. The concentration appears to be centred on the façade of the Stoa of Zeus, though it may have been occasioned in part by the convergence of two important thoroughfares just to the north. The situation as revealed by the season's work accords well with Pausanias' mention (I, 8, 3-5) of many important statues and groups of statues in this area: Amphiaraos, Eirene and Ploutos, Lykourgos, Kallias, Demosthenes, Herakles, Theseus, Apollo, Kalades and Pindar, not to mention the Ares, the two statues of Aphrodite and the Athena which apparently stood inside the Temple of Ares. It also clears up a minor but long-standing topographical problem, viz. how the statue of Pindar, located by Pausanias (I, 8, 4) with reference to the Temple of Ares, could be described by Pseudo-Aeschines (*Epist.* IV, 2 f.) as in front of the Stoa Basileios, i. e. the Stoa of Zeus.²⁴ The painful aspect of the matter is the grievous condition to which these monuments have been reduced. Practically all had been stripped already in the late Roman period to their lowest foundations.

Eschara

The best preserved of the newly exposed monuments is a hearth-like altar, which the Greeks would probably have called an *eschara*: "a base set at ground level, rectangular in plan, having the scheme of an altar but without elevation."²⁵ It lies immediately to the south of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (Pl. 15, Fig. 2) and owes its comparatively good state of preservation to the fact that it was abandoned early, probably already in the Hellenistic period, and then overlaid, first by what appears to have been an exhedra facing north and much later, about A.D. 400, by the large building mentioned above, the concrete foundations of which were sufficiently massive to discourage all but the most determined intruders.

In its original form the *eschara* was a long rectangle in plan (1.76 x ca. 3.77 m.), with a curb of poros enclosing an area packed with field stones. At each short end the outer edge of the curb rises a few centimetres with a simple concave profile

²⁴ Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, note *ad loc.*

²⁵ Scholiast B, Euripides, *Phoen.*, line 274.

corresponding to the bolster at the end of a normal altar. The area between these "bolsters" where the fire was kindled had been repeatedly surfaced with thin layers of fine brown clay between which were sandwiched traces of ash to a total depth of *ca.* 10 centimetres.

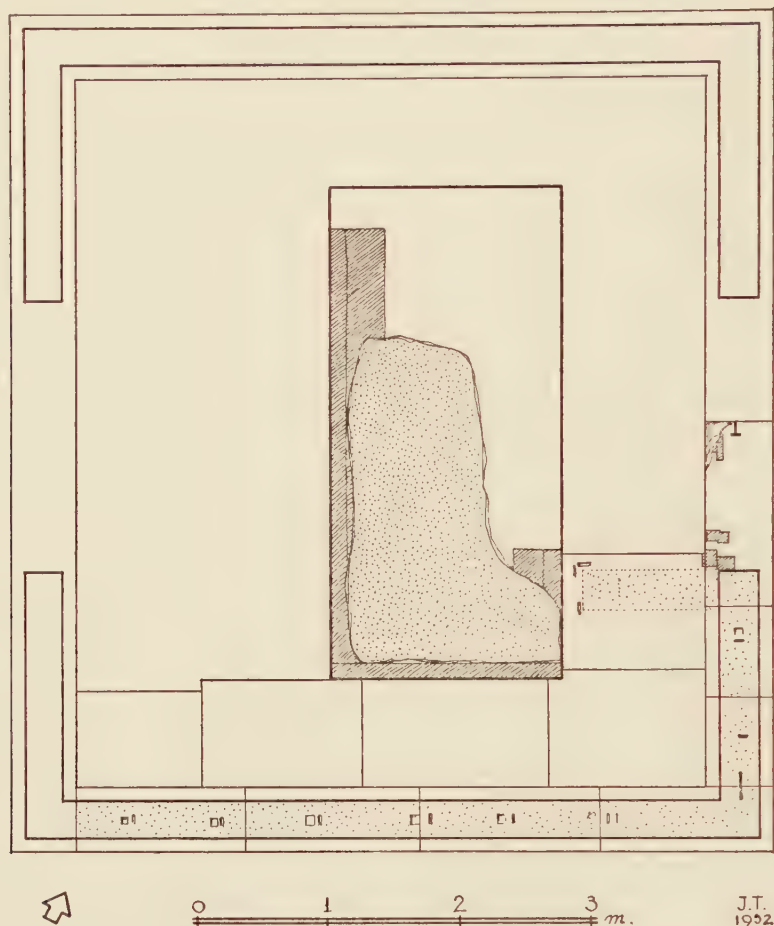


Fig. 2. Archaic Eschara.

Subsequently, though not much later, the hearth was surrounded with stone paving and was enclosed by means of a thin stone wall. The paving and the sill for the wall are preserved only around the southeast corner, but impressions in the earth elsewhere leave little question as to the restoration. The paved area was considerably wider on the west than on the east side, obviously to facilitate the movements of the officiating priest. There are clear traces of a doorway with cuttings for a double door in the middle of the east side, and from the fact that the enclosing wall bent inward in line with the side of the door opening it may be inferred that the door was

protected by a simple roof covering a vestibule rather than a porch.²⁶ Although the west side is utterly destroyed at the critical point, an entrance is in all probability to be restored there also.

The enclosing wall consisted of orthostates of soft yellow poros one foot thick; several fragments were found on the spot and the pry-holes on the sill indicate their arrangement.

As will appear from the plan (Pl. 10), the eschara has the same orientation as the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, and the two enclosures were separated by only a narrow passage. The ground level associated with the eschara, moreover, agrees precisely with that of the Twelve Gods in its original period. The two monuments are also similar in the choice of material and in the tooling of the stone. We may therefore date the eschara within a few years of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and this, as Thukydides (VI, 54, 6) reports, was founded by Peisistratos the Younger during his archonship which is now assigned by scholars with growing assurance to 522/1 B.C.²⁷ The relationship of the two monuments would suggest that the eschara, presumably the less important, was sited in relation to the Twelve Gods. And the few potsherds found in association with the original eschara would in fact call for a date not earlier than the closing years of the sixth century.

One would gladly know to whom the eschara was sacred. The testimony of the ancient lexicographers, as also the evidence of the few surviving and certainly identifiable comparable monuments in Greece proper, tend to show that this type of altar was counted more proper for a hero than for a major divinity. That the present example, however, served a cult of some importance is suggested by its size and substantial construction and by its location near the entrance to the square, in close proximity to the Twelve Gods. On the evidence now available it would be rash to attribute it to any one of the several heroes known to have been worshipped in the Agora, but the closer study of the monument itself and the further exploration of the environs may eventually permit greater precision.²⁸ However that may be, the

²⁶ For a comparable arrangement in the east wall of the Archegesion on Delos cf. R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, Paris, 1944, p. 72, note 5. In the relevant inscriptions the doorways of the Archegesion are referred to as *θυρώρες*.

²⁷ Cf. T. J. Cadoux, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 111.

²⁸ One of the most likely candidates is Aiakos, to whom the Athenians dedicated a precinct in the Agora in compliance with an oracle from Delphi at some time in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. (Herodotos V, 89). This precinct was still to be seen at the time of Herodotos' writing but is not clearly referred to by any later author. (The confused references in Hesychios, *s.vv.* *Αἶαι* and *Αἰάκειον*, may derive from Herodotos). The newly found precinct was of the same type as the parent shrine in Aegina which is described by Pausanias (II, 29, 6-8) as being in the most conspicuous part of the city, a rectangular enclosure around an altar which was raised not far above the ground. Some additional color is given to the attribution by the proximity of the eschara to the Stoa and earlier sanctuary of Zeus, father of Aiakos, and by the erection near by of a statue

newly found monument is an outstanding illustration of a type of sanctuary of which few other examples have come to light on the Greek mainland.²⁹

Peribolos of the Twelve Gods

The removal of a mass of concrete foundation belonging to the late Roman building brought to light a round dip basin cut from a large square block of poros at a point to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (Pl. 12, Square K 6; Pl. 15b). The basin, set down in the contemporary ground level almost to its full depth, would have lain to the right of one approaching the west entrance of the Peribolos. The basin drew its water from the stone channel which, as noted above, carried the waste from the Southwest Fountain House down the west side of the square. Appropriate cuttings are to be seen in the sides of both the basin and the channel, but the connecting pipe-line, perhaps of lead, has entirely vanished. Since there is no outlet from the basin, this was evidently the end of the branch line and the water must have been used on the spot. The most probable use of the basin would seem to be for watering the trees which are attested by the soft pits observed around the Peribolos in the course of the excavation and which have been identified elsewhere as the olives and the laurels described by Statius (*Thebais*, XII, 492) around the Altar of Pity.³⁰ The level of the dip basin, combined with the quality of its workmanship, would suggest a date in the fourth century or early Hellenistic period.

Having passed the dip basin, the visitor to the Peribolos had next on his right an object which is now represented only by a poros block set in the earth with a round sinking 0.40 m. in diameter and 0.05 m. deep in its top (Pl. 15 b).³¹ There can be

of Pindar who shared Boeotian connections with Aiakos and who repeatedly referred to the hero in his odes. Dedication to a foreign cult and for a specific occasion would also more easily account for the otherwise strangely early lapse of a sanctuary in this prominent part of the city. But all this is conjecture.

²⁹ In addition to the Delian Archegeion referred to above, one might compare the Pyre of Herakles on Mount Oita (Pappadakis, *Δελταίον*, V, 1919, parartema, cols. 25-34, especially col. 28). The pyre measured 20 to 30 metres across and was bounded by a simple stone curb somewhat similar to ours in profile; this curb may be of Roman date although the history of the pyre certainly goes back into archaic times. For an example recently found in the Dionysion at Delphi cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1951, p. 249. Altars of this primitive type have more commonly been found inside temples than in the open. Cf. in general, Reisch, *R. E.*, VI, 1907, cols. 614-617; M. P. Nilsson, *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144-148 and *Från Stenålder till Rokoko, Studier—O. Rydbeck*, 1937, pp. 43 ff.; S. Marinatos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 239, n. 3; M. Guarducci, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, XIII, 1937, pp. 159-165; F. Robert, *Thymélè*, Paris, 1939, pp. 185 f.; M. Launey, *Études Thasiennes I: Le Sanctuaire et le Culte de Herakles*, Paris, 1944, pp. 171-174; C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis, 1949, pp. 130 f., 199, 207-214.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 50.

³¹ *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, p. 95.

little doubt that this marks the place of a *perirrhanterion* or holy-water basin which would have consisted of a shallow bowl, most likely of marble, supported by a pedestal with flaring foot. Such basins formed part of the normal furnishing of a sanctuary.³²

THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SQUARE

In the season under review Mr. Eugene Vanderpool completed the deeper exploration which he had begun in 1951 over a large area in the northeast corner of the square. Additional evidence was gathered for the study of the three public buildings which preceded the Stoa of Attalos on the site, and a handsome dividend was gained in the form of an important and well preserved inscription which was found in the construction filling of the cloistered market building deep beneath the porch of the Stoa (see below under "Inscriptions").

In the otherwise open west side of the informal market enclosure which preceded the cloistered buildings³³ appeared numerous rectangular cuttings in the soft bedrock which are being tentatively identified, like those to the east and west of the Odeion, as pits for the planting of trees (Pl. 12, Square O 8).

To the several tombs of the Late Helladic III period found in the northeast area in 1951 was added a small chamber tomb which came to light a few metres south of the southwest corner of the Northeast Stoa (Pl. 12, Square O 7; Pl. 17 a). The approximately square chamber had been entered through a dromos sloping down from the northeast. On the floor of the tomb lay a skeleton tolerably well preserved except for the skull, part of the skull of a second and the leg bones of a third skeleton. With the first, or possibly the second skeleton, belonged two vases, a tall slender kylix of cream-colored clay and a plain, one-handed jug (Pl. 17 b).

Much of the chamber tomb, as also parts of its occupants, would seem to have been cut away by workmen of the fourth century B.C. engaged in digging the foundation pit for a large monument. It was presumably reverence for the dead that induced them to desist and to shift the monument westward by its own width. There the monument, whatever it may have been, stood until it was demolished in the early Roman period; only its square pit now remains, plundered of its stonework to the last couple of conglomerate blocks. A comparable example of respect for the dead was encountered last season in the Late Helladic tomb beneath the Temple of Ares;

³² On *perirrhanteria* cf. H. Kenner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 135 ff.; L. Ziehen, *R.E.*, XIX, 1937, cols. 856 f.; A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, pp. 370-413. The Agora, as a sacred area, was itself equipped with *perirrhanteria*: C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, Leipzig, 1890, p. 411. The stump of one of these still stands in place at the northwest corner of the Civic Offices (Pl. 11), and a second (Inv. A 2115) was found in the "Valerian Wall" at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, having stood, no doubt, at the southeast entrance to the square.

³³ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 100.

there the intruders on two occasions had left propitiatory offerings of white-ground lekythoi.³⁴

A little supplementary exploration was carried out by the undersigned to the east of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos in order to complete the plans of the pre-Stoa buildings. Deep beneath the floor levels of all the public buildings appeared the mouth of a well which had been abandoned, after little use, in the second half of the seventh century B.C. The pottery is much less in volume than that from the well to the east of the Odeion (above, p. 39) but it is comparable in date and in the admixture of Protocorinthian. Two outstanding examples of the Protoattic style are illustrated on Plate 18 c and d, the lion oinochoe³⁵ from near the mouth of the well, the horse amphora³⁶ from near its bottom. The oinochoe is an impressive new example of a scheme of decoration already represented by an oinochoe of comparable size from the Agora³⁷ and by a jug from Phaleron,³⁸ all three pieces probably by different hands. The antithetical grouping of the horse amphora recalls such works as the Burgon Lebes.³⁹ The similarity between this vase and the bull amphora from the well to the east of the Odeion (above, p. 39) in the rendering of leg and eye, in the choice and distribution of decorative motifs and in the subordination of robustness to orderly design suggests that the two amphorae are by the same hand.

WORK OF CONSERVATION

In keeping with the current practice of doing a certain amount of conservation each season, attention was devoted this year to the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroos.

The Stoa of Zeus especially was in need of care. The soft creamy poros of its foundations, which had stood up perfectly well through the many centuries when it was underground, had already begun to deteriorate from exposure to the atmosphere. The most practicable way of preserving such remains for the future is to bury them again as far as possible. A second consideration was how to make the scheme of the ancient building intelligible to the visitor, something that has hitherto been virtually

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁵ P 22550. Height to lip 0.255 m., height with handle 0.295 m., diameter of body 0.173 m., diameter of base 0.115 m. Traces of purple paint on mane and tongue; no incision.

³⁶ P 22551. Preserved height 0.283 m., diameter of body 0.22 m., diameter of base 0.10 m. Purple for forelocks and triangular area toward front of neck, for heart of palmette and for band at top of panels; incision for details of heads. The panels on the two sides are closely similar.

³⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 594, no. 214, fig. 61.

³⁸ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 83.

³⁹ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 82; K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, fig. 17 and p. 11, there dated in the mid-seventh century.

impossible because of the very ruinous condition of the building combined with its unusual design.

The solution adopted in the case of the Stoa was to outline its plan with ancient blocks found on the site (not all from the Stoa itself) and then to fill up the interior to the level of its middle step, part of which remains in place at the south end, with field stone from the excavation (Pl. 16 b). The foundations for the interior columns have been emphasized and pits, curbed with dry stone masonry, have been left to expose pre-Stoa remains. The area of the building has been surfaced with clean gray clay in the hope that this combination of stone underpinning and clay top dressing may prevent settling and discourage the growth of vegetation. The fragmentary marble columns and cornice blocks of the Stoa have been set up on the spot so as to be readily accessible to scholars.

The cella, north room and pronaos of the near-by Temple of Apollo have been similarly treated.

The marble altar inscribed with the names of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, which had long ago been assigned to the tiny temple ensconced between the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo, has been brought out from the Excavation House and set up on the bedding block which was found *in situ* in front of the building. It fits with gratifying precision.⁴¹

INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions found this season are not numerous but among them are several pieces of outstanding interest.

A fragment from the top of a large stele proves to belong to the list of the men of Argos who fell fighting by the side of the Athenians against the Spartans at Tanagra in 458 B.C. Other fragments of the same monument were previously known, but the new piece helps greatly in fixing the form of the stele and in the restoration of the text.⁴² Another fragment (I 6523), datable from its splendid lettering to one of the early years of the Archidamian War, must likewise come from a casualty list. There remains part of the rubric comprising the names of those who fell in Thrace; the list begins with the barbarian bowmen. Both of these documents have been published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 351-5, No. 4; pp. 340-1, No. 1.

The statue base of black Eleusinian limestone (I 6532)⁴³ illustrated in Fig. 3 was found, where it had been re-used, in the underpinning of a monument base in

⁴¹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 106.

⁴² For our previous knowledge of the monument cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 134-147.

⁴³ On the use of this material cf. L. T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 341-352. One would gladly know what other stone, if any, was combined with the Eleusinian in this monument.

front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos, at a point in line with the fifth shop from the north. In the top of the block are cuttings for securing the feet of a bronze statue of approximately life size. Although the rear part of the block had been trimmed by those who re-used it, the overall dimensions and scheme can be recovered

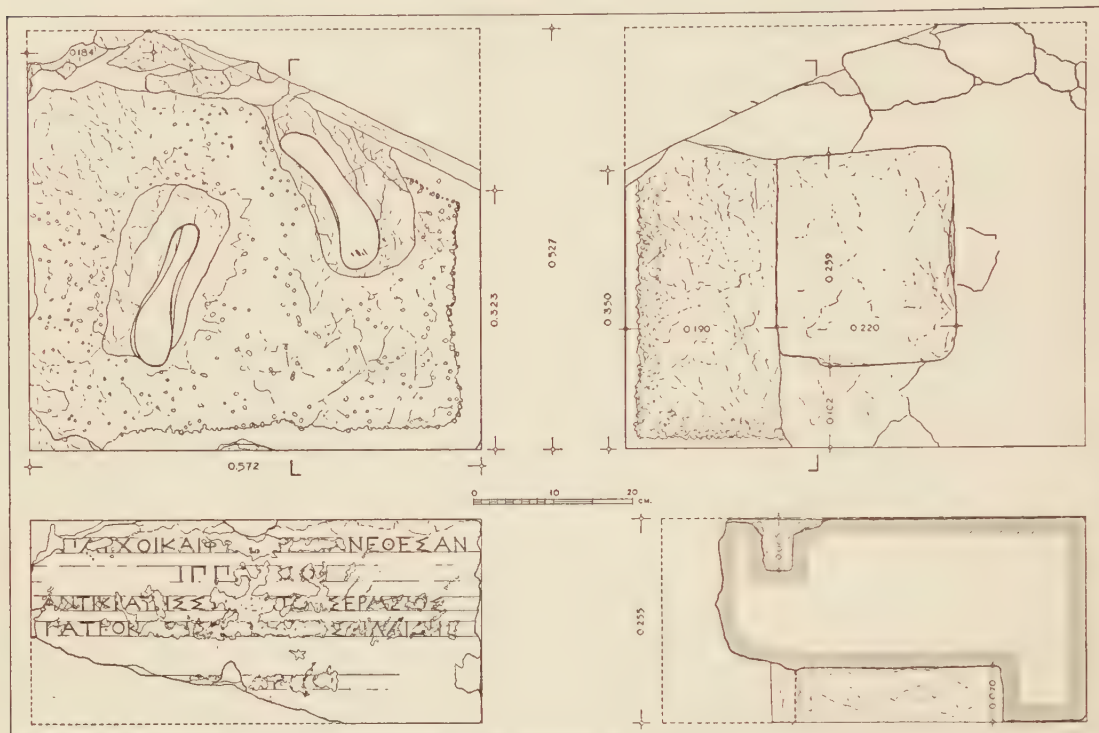


Fig. 3. Base of Statue dedicated by Hipparchus and Phylarchs (I 6532).

with the help of the chips. On the underside of the stone is a large rectangular sinking intended, no doubt, to house the tenon on the top of a short shaft which itself would have rested on a lower base block. In this way the statue could have been raised to an effective height with a minimum of outlay.⁴⁴ The lettering appears to have been deliberately though carelessly mutilated before the block was re-used, yet the text can be recovered with assurance:

⁴⁴ This type of pedestal has recently been studied by O. Walter, *Mitt. des deut. arch. Inst.*, III, 1950, pp. 139-147. Cf. also the instructions for making the pedestal for a tripod as set out in an inscription of the fourth century: *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 134-144, fig. 1 (Holleaux), pp. 145-150 (Dörpfeld), pp. 359-362 (Lattermann); *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 425-430 (Robinson); *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 75-80 (Lattermann); *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, p. 24 (Dinsmoor).

[Ἱπ]παρχοὶ καὶ Φύλαρχοι ἀνέθησαν
Ἱππαρχοὶ
Ἀντικράτης Σωκράτους Ἑρμείως
Πατροκλέης Ἱεροκλέους Φιλαίδης
Φύλαρχοι

Aristotle (Ἀθ. Πολ., LXI) described the Hipparchs, two in number, as the general commanding officers of the Athenian cavalry, while the ten Phylarchs, one from each tribe, commanded the tribal regiments. In peace time these officers must have been known chiefly from their direction of the various cavalry displays which are so vividly described by Xenophon in his essay *On the Cavalry Commander*, Ch. III. The dedication of the Hipparchs and Phylarchs here recorded had to do, presumably, with these exhibitions. Xenophon recommended that the cavalry should give one of these displays in the Agora, including in their performance a dash "from the Herms" (to be localized near the northwest corner of the square) to the Eleusinion. That his suggestion was followed has been inferred from the statement in Athenaios (IV, p. 167 f.) to the effect that Demetrios of Phaleron, while acting as Hipparch at the Panathenaia, set up a bleacher for his mistress "higher than the Herms." In this connection it is probably significant that the present inscription was found, albeit re-used, in the northern part of the square, that the Bryaxis base, which carried a victory dedication of the Phylarchs, stood at the north end of the Stoa of Zeus,⁴⁵ and that an inscribed block from another monument, in which a tribal victory is recorded with mention of a Phylarch, came to light, re-used, at the southeast corner of the same building.⁴⁶ All three monuments, all dating from the fourth century B.C., may have stood in the northwest corner of the square, near the Herms which are twice given by Xenophon as the starting point for the manoeuvres which he recommends.

The names of the two Hipparchs are otherwise unknown. Why the names of the Phylarchs should not have followed the heading is not clear. It is conceivable, though unlikely, that they were inscribed on the face of the supporting pilaster.⁴⁷

Some supplementary exploration beneath the porch of the Stoa of Attalos brought to light, at a point opposite the fifteenth shop from the south, a well preserved stele (I 6524) containing a law against tyranny proposed by Eukrates in 336 B.C. The inscription has been published by Meritt with epigraphic and historical commentary,⁴⁸ but certain other aspects of the document may be considered briefly here. According to the text (lines 24 ff.), the law was to be inscribed on two stone tablets one of which

⁴⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3130; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 279, figs. 723 f.

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 176, no. 24.

⁴⁷ I have profited in the study of this inscription from discussion with B. D. Meritt who will prepare the proper publication.

⁴⁸ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355-9, No. 5.

was to be placed "in the *ekklesia*," i. e. presumably on the Pnyx, the other "at the entrance to the Areopagus as one goes into the Bouleuterion." There can be little doubt that in 336 B.C. the Council of Five Hundred was meeting in the building which we now know as the New Bouleuterion. It would appear from the new text that in this same period the Council of the Areopagus met in a building with an entrance which one would normally pass on going into the (New) Bouleuterion. Only two buildings come into consideration, viz. the Tholos, situated to the south of the passage that led from the market square to the New Bouleuterion, and the Old Bouleuterion to the north of the same passage.⁴⁹ Since it is incredible that the Tholos should have been referred to as "the Areopagus," we are left with the Old Bouleuterion, an eminently satisfactory situation inasmuch as this roomy hall would appear to have been available for just such purposes between the late fifth century, when it was vacated by the Council of Five Hundred in favor of the New Bouleuterion, and the late second century when it made way for the Metroon. Since the building faced south, it did undoubtedly have an entrance precisely where one would pass in going from the square to the New Bouleuterion.⁵⁰

Since the object of placing one of the stelai at the entrance to the meeting place of the Council of the Areopagus was obviously to insure its being seen by the Councillors, we may infer that the meeting place here referred to was the one in normal use at the time. In the text of the law the word *synhedrion* is twice used (lines 15 and 19) of the meeting of the Council. The word admits of the double meaning: "the act of assembling" or "the place of assembling." In the present instance it is perhaps easier to believe that the word is used in a general way of the place. And this probability is strengthened by the fact that the word *synhedrion*, certainly meaning a place or building, is used as a point of reference for the setting up of three decrees that have been found in or near the site of the Old Bouleuterion, all of them dating from the third century B.C. when that building would seem to have been still available for such use.⁵¹ We know, however, that even in the fourth century B.C.

⁴⁹ Cf. Pl. 10 and the plan in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 133, fig. 72.

⁵⁰ This does not preclude the existence of another entrance, perhaps on the side toward the square, as might be inferred from the pains taken in the text of the law to define the entrance by which the stele was to be placed.

⁵¹ The inscriptions have been published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-448, No. 2 B, line 12; VII, 1938, pp. 101-103, No. 18, lines 39-40; *ibid.*, p. 109, No. 19, line 5.

For a general discussion of the problem cf. W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943, pp. 295-298. The word *synhedrion* was used also of the meeting place of the Sacred Gerousia, but since this body was founded in Athens as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius, it is not necessary to equate its meeting place with that mentioned in the earlier inscriptions; cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia*, *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, p. 128, no. 31, line 13. The inscription in which the Synhedrion of the Sacred Gerousia is mentioned was found in the region of the Tholos, suggesting that its meeting place was also at the southwest corner of the Agora, but the evidence does not yet admit of greater precision.

the Council of the Areopagus met also on occasion in the Stoa Basileios, apparently being no more tied down to one place than was the *Ekklesia*.⁵² As to where the Council of the Areopagus gathered after the Old Bouleuterion had made way for the Metroon we cannot say; possibly it used a room in the Metroon or shared the New Bouleuterion with the Council of the Five Hundred.^{52a}

As to the illustrative relief above the text, the seated figure, as Meritt has pointed out, conforms to the well established type of the personification of Demos, the People of Athens.⁵³ The most probable identification for the standing female who crowns him is Demokratia. It would be easy to criticize the panel on the score of its uncouth composition, the faulty perspective in the rendering of the chair, the artist's failure to indicate the sceptre in the left hand of Demos. Yet the specialist will welcome it as another well preserved and precisely dated document for fixing the chronology of fourth century sculpture; and the general reader will observe that the little picture conveys its message in language almost as clear as that of the written text.

SCULPTURE

Of the numerous pieces of sculpture that came to light in the course of the season's work only a few are here singled out for comment.

A marble statue about two-thirds life-size of the Venus Genetrix type had been incorporated in the foundations of a house of the Turkish period just to the east of the Commercial Agora (Pl. 19 a and b).⁵⁴ The head is broken off and missing. The right arm, which had been cut separately and fastened with a dowel, is also gone, but enough remains to show that it had been in the normal attitude of holding a fold of the cloak above the shoulder. The left arm, however, had been altered by the copyist. Instead of being bent at the elbow and thrust forward with an apple in the hand, a gesture attested by several better preserved copies, the left arm here hangs by the side and holds a water jar in the hand. It is tempting to believe that this adaptation was happily devised to fit the statue for the adornment of a fountain house, conceivably the establishment of the Roman period attested by various indications at the south end of the terrace of the East Stoa (cf. above, p. 37). A statue of the same type,

⁵² [Demosthenes] XXV, 23: τὸ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλήν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίσσῃται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς εἶναι καὶ ἅπαντας ἐκπολῶν ἀποχωρεῖν.

^{52a} An alternative possibility should be admitted, viz. that "the going up to the Areopagus" and "the entrance to the Areopagus" are to be taken literally, the corollary to which is that "the Bouleuterion" is to be identified as the council house not of the Five Hundred, but of the Areopagus, situated on the hill of that name.

⁵³ Representations of Demos have been dealt with recently by E. Buschor, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II, Berlin, 1950, pp. 25-30.

⁵⁴ S 1654. Pentelic marble. Height above plinth 0.93 m. The front has been burned by the acid from a near-by cesspool.

⁵⁵ G. Bendinelli, *Annuario*, I, 1914, pp. 141 f., no. 5, fig. 5.

though lacking the left hand, was found by the Italian excavators in the nymphaeum at Gortyna in Crete⁵⁵ and a semi-draped Aphrodite with a pitcher in left hand is one of the many statues from the nymphaeum of Miletos.⁵⁶

The new statue, though modest in scale and in the quality of its carving, is important as one of the largest and best preserved examples of the Venus Genetrix type thus far found on Greek soil, the majority having come to light in Italy.⁵⁷ It thus tends to confirm the view, if additional proof were needed today, that the prototype was an Athenian work of the late fifth century rather than a specimen of classicistic revivalism produced in Italy. One might indeed argue, though without complete confidence, that the great original still stood in Athens at the time when our statue was carved. So much is suggested not only by the general correspondence of the newly found version with the original type that may be inferred from a collation of other good copies such as the large marble "from Frejus" in the Louvre and the terracotta by Diphilos from Myrina, but also by the detailed similarity in the handling of the drapery with certain figures of the Nike Temple Parapet, long since connected by Schrader and Carpenter with the master of the Venus Genetrix.

One would gladly know when the new copy was carved. On this notoriously difficult problem additional evidence may eventually be obtained from the structure with which the statue appears to have been associated. Of internal evidence based on technique, the front of the figure yields less than the back which has been much altered by the copyist to suit the change in the left arm and also greatly coarsened: in the wooden quality of the folds and in the chisel work this back is close to that of several portrait statues from the Agora that may be dated in the second century after Christ.⁵⁸

A marble statuette of Asklepios from a disturbed context to the east of the Odeion commands respect despite its lack of head, feet and right hand (Pl. 19 c and d).⁵⁹ The god stands, resting much of his weight on his serpent-entwined staff held close to his right side. His heavy cloak is rolled down so as to expose the chest and both shoulders. Our small marble appears to be a free variant of a major work of

⁵⁶ T. Wiegand, *Milet*, I, Heft V, *Das Nymphaeum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1919, p. 60, no. 7. An adaptation of the Venus Genetrix type, with girdle added, also came from this nymphaeum: *ibid.*, p. 60, no. 8.

⁵⁷ For a statuette of the original type with left arm bent from the Agora cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 8. Several other small statuettes have since accumulated in the Agora. On the question of provenance in general cf. S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, V, 1905, pp. 401; G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischen Statuen*, Munich, 1923, p. 46; M. Bieber, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 272.

⁵⁸ For the back of the "Aphrodite from Frejus" cf. the excellent view in H. Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurt am Main, 1924, fig. 287.

⁵⁹ S 1589. Preserved height 0.235 m. Pentelic marble. One drilled hole in the top and two in the bottom suggest that both head and feet had been broken off in antiquity and refastened with metal pins.

the middle or third quarter of the fourth century which is known from several large-scale copies or adaptations of the Roman period.⁶⁰ The principal diversion from the norm is the baring of the left shoulder which, in the type with the staff on the right side, is almost invariably covered by the cloak. The summary but thoroughly competent handling of both flesh parts and drapery may be matched on many of the Attic grave stones of the third quarter of the fourth century, which indicates that our miniature version is not far removed in date from its hypothetical prototype.⁶¹ Its fresh modelling and monumental quality give it a high place among many known small-scale representations of the healing god.

The small but striking head of Pentelic marble shown in Plate 20 d was found in the destruction debris overlying the floor of the South Stoa toward its east end.⁶² The face wears a short, clotted beard, drooping moustache and rather long wavy hair; the remnant of a pointed Phrygian cap marks him as an Asiatic. The suggestion of agony or great exertion conveyed by the half open mouth and deeply articulated brow, coupled with the half-life scale, suggest some relation to the figures commonly connected with the Attalid dedication on the Acropolis, particularly with the Persian now in Aix.⁶³ Any very direct relationship is made unlikely, however, by indications on the back of the head that it has been broken from a relief. The workmanship is coarse but vigorous.

The life-sized marble head of a young woman illustrated in Plate 20 b lay on the floor of the east aisle of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora, close to the south end of the building.⁶⁴ The shape of the tenon shows that it comes from a draped torso. A hand holding a phiale (Pl. 20 c) which was found near by is sufficiently close in scale and style of workmanship to be associated with the head; this, however, would suggest that the subject was engaged in sacrifice, in which case one would expect her to have veiled her head. The hair, parted in the middle, has been drawn back in wavy masses and twisted behind the ears in tight rolls which are tied together with a ribbon on the nape of the neck. This characteristic coiffure is well matched in the

⁶⁰ Cf. K. A. Neugebauer, *Asklepios*, 78th Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm, 1921, pl. III. For the Asklepios reliefs cf. U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilum*, Potsdam, 1948; the author (p. 126) contemplates a new study of the sculptural types in the round.

⁶¹ For the surface finish cf. the statuette of Asklepios found at Olynthos in 1938 and dated by the excavator to the early fourth century B.C.: D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XII, 1946, pp. 130-137, pls. 115-119.

For another, somewhat larger statuette of Asklepios of the Roman period from the Agora cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 198, fig. 17.

⁶² S 1596. Overall height 0.17 m., width 0.109 m. There are two measuring points on the chin.

⁶³ *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, pl. VII; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 351, 6. On the monument cf. Frazer's note on Pausanias I, 25, 2.

⁶⁴ S 1631. Height 0.38 m. A choice piece of Pentelic marble. This piece, as also a bearded male portrait head found in a Byzantine wall to the west of the Odeion (S 1604), will be included in the forthcoming study of portrait sculpture from the Agora by Miss Evelyn B. Harrison. (*The Athenian Agora*, Vol. I, Portrait Sculpture, 1953 [in press], Nos. 11, 52].

portrait medallions of Antonia Minor (36 B.C.-A.D. 37) and of Agrippina the Elder (ca. 14 B.C.-A.D. 33) on coins struck under Claudius. The cast of the features, coupled with the sensuous charm that plays so lightly over them, leaves little doubt that we have to do with some princess of the Julio-Claudian house, though probably nothing short of an inscription could establish the precise identification. In the sheer beauty of its crisp modelling and in its remarkably fresh condition the piece has few equals among the surviving works of this period known from Greece.

A miniature but extraordinarily vivid piece of sculpture is the bust worked in relief on a medallion or *emblemata* from the floor of a terracotta bowl (Pl. 17 c).⁶⁵ A man of short hair and beard with a cloak thrown over his left shoulder is represented in the characteristic attitude of a lecturer: right hand raised with first and second fingers extended, a roll in the left hand. The attitude, the style and the serious atmosphere associate the piece with the statues of philosophers of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., most of which are represented as seated. That the subject was a famous man is also suggested by the existence of a replica from the same mould in the Agora collection and of a much debased replica, reported to be from Corinth, in Berlin.⁶⁶ A clue to a more precise identification is given by the prominent, slightly aquiline nose and the full lips which suggest Semitic blood. An outstanding philosopher of Semitic origin who had been honored with a statue presumably at Athens in the late fourth or early third century and whose fame persisted there in the Roman period is not likely to be other than Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school. The medallion corresponds in most respects, save in the wispy termination of the beard, with the inscribed bronze bust and marble herm in Naples.⁶⁷ And it agrees line for line with the references to Zeno's physical appearance imbedded in the pages of Diogenes Laertius (VII, 1, 16, 20, 26, 30): lean, serious, morose, sour, with wrinkled brow. The Athenians had honored the distinguished immigrant with a bronze statue (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 6) which would have been appropriately placed at the north edge of the Agora in or before the Painted Stoa where Zeno had taught and which gave its name to his teaching.

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⁶⁵ P 22351. From destruction debris associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Diameter 0.07 m.; broken all around. Orange-colored clay covered with matt red glaze on the inside, unglazed on the underside. For other such *emblemata* from the Agora cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 181, pl. 61, 4; XVIII, 1949, p. 224, pl. 45, 3. The Agora collection now comprises some eighteen pieces which will be included by Mr. Henry S. Robinson in his comprehensive study of the pottery of the Roman period from the Agora. The majority of these examples date from the first century after Christ.

⁶⁶ The Agora replica is P 15175. For the piece from Corinth cf. H. Winnefeld, *68th Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1908, p. 20, no. 12, pl. III, 3.

⁶⁷ A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1912, p. XXII, fig. 13, pl. 104; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, p. 109, 2 and 4, p. 209 for the bibliography.

NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHLIUS

AT THE end of an article containing the inscriptions found at Phlius during the investigations made there in 1924, R. L. Scranton has published four very fragmentary texts of Byzantine date, as follows:¹

No. 17: ZEIO O σοφία.

No. 18: NOCEN ONOMA.

No. 19 is not transcribed, but may be read in the drawing on p. 242 (Fig. 9d).

No. 20: ἀγγελῶντα. In the drawing on p. 242 (Fig. 9e) the letters are shown in a vertical column. Below the ninth letter is a Π, followed by the break of the stone.

These texts are quotations from the Bible and from the liturgical books of the orthodox church, as may be seen in their expanded forms as given below. I have no suggestion at present for the reading of No. 17 (now republished as *S.E.G.*, XI, 287), but it appears to belong to the same category with the other three.

No 18: [εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμε]νος ἐν ὀνόμα[τι κυρίου].² See *Psalms* 118. 26; *Matthew* 21. 9, 23. 39; *Mark* 11. 9; *Luke* 13. 35 (cf. 19. 38). This phrase is repeated many times in the rites of the vesper service and of the mass of Palm Sunday, and is also mentioned in the liturgy; cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 368. 29 (cf. 596), 370. 25, 371. 5, 396. 2.

No. 19: [ὁ ἐγείρων] ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸν κὲ ἀπὸ [κοπρίας ἀνυψῶν πέννητα]. See *Psalms* 113. 7.

No. 20: ἀγγέλων τὰ π[λήθη]. This is taken from some ecclesiastical hymn. I note, for example, the *ιδιόμελον* in the vesper service of the Koemesis of the Virgin (Menaeon, August 15): τὴν πάνσεπτόν σου κοίμησιν, Παναγία Παρθένε ἀγνή, τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰ πλήθη ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μακαρίζομεν κτλ.

It would be useful if this group of inscriptions could be examined again together with other similar uninscribed pieces which probably were found at the same place. They seem to belong to some church, and they might help in establishing the form of its decoration and its date. For similar quotations used (at least in later times) as legends of hagiographic paintings, see the useful instructions of Dionysios of Phourna, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης*, published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909).

Of the Phliasian inscriptions gathered in *I.G.*, IV, it would seem from the shapes

¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 246, nos. 17-20 (cf. Fig. 9 c-e on p. 242). Scranton characterizes only the last two texts as Byzantine, but all seem to be from about the same time.

² This text is now published as *S.E.G.*, XI, 288, where Hondius has indicated the correct division of words: — — νος ἐν ὀνόμα[τι ? — —].

of its letters that no. 450 (known from a copy made by Ross) might belong with these published here:

----- ΛΕΡΩCΙ -----

Fränkel, the editor of the *Corpus*, notes: Ambiguum est: μά]λ' ἐρῶσι; δο]λερῶς, θα]λερῶς, σφα]λερῶς alia. Certe videtur esse de carmine sepulcrali. Closer examination does not disclose that it is a biblical quotation, and I agree that it is from a sepulchral monument but not necessarily that it is part of a poem. I believe the more probable reading to be simply [Φι]λέρως I ----. The name of the deceased is not in the genitive case, as was true of most of the sepulchral inscriptions of Phlius,³ because at the late date to which this inscription must be assigned the nominative, rather than the genitive, was the case employed.⁴ The text should, in fact, be included among the later documents.

For a probable Phliasian decree found at Delos see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, V, 1948, pp. 5-15. I expect to deal with this inscription elsewhere.

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SUPPLEMENTUM EPIGRAPHICUM GRAECUM

THE TWELFTH and subsequent volumes of *S.E.G.* will take the form of an annual review of Greek Epigraphy. As far as possible, it will give references to work done during each year on or relating to Greek inscriptions, and will reprint new or emended texts. The arrangement of the contents will be by geographical areas, on the general pattern of the early volumes of *S.E.G.* The editor and publishers are confident that this will be a service which epigraphists, and classical scholars generally, will appreciate and find helpful.

The editor would, therefore, be grateful if scholars who publish studies on Greek Epigraphy, or substantially using epigraphic material, would send him a notice (or if possible a reprint) of their work. Their co-operation in this way would be much appreciated, and would greatly aid him and the publishers in making *S.E.G.* as complete as possible.

All communications should be addressed to:

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CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

Part II of Volume XI, which was left unfinished at the death of the previous editor, Dr. J. J. E. Hondius, will be published as soon as possible.

³ See Fränkel's note on *I.G.*, IV, 452.

⁴ Cf. *I.G.*, IV, 473 ff.



a. View of the Southern Part of the Sanctuary (left, Central Terrace Precinct; center, "New Temple;" right, Hall of Votive Gifts; and in background, Altar Court)



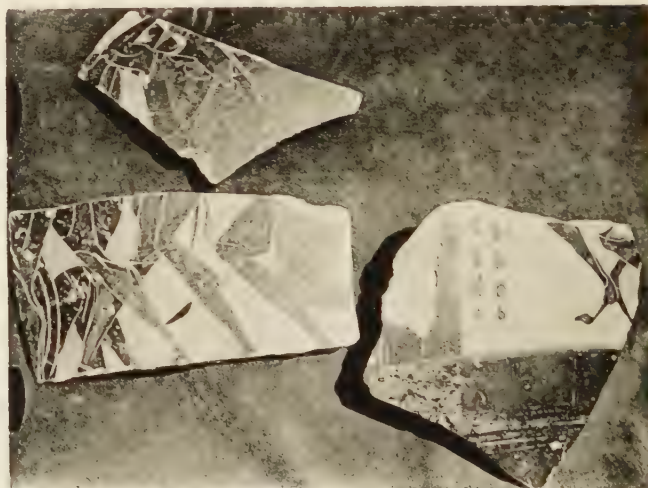
b. Hall of Votive Gifts seen from West (in background, "New Temple;" at right, foundation of Altar Court)



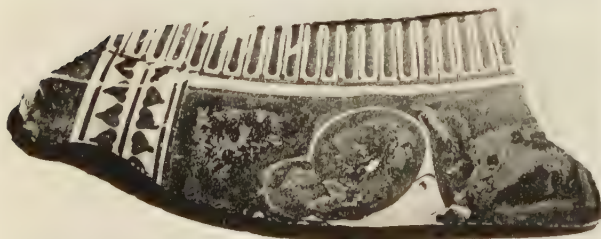
a. Hall of Votive Gifts. Western Facade seen from South



b. Pedimental Block and Cornice Block of Hall of Votive Gifts



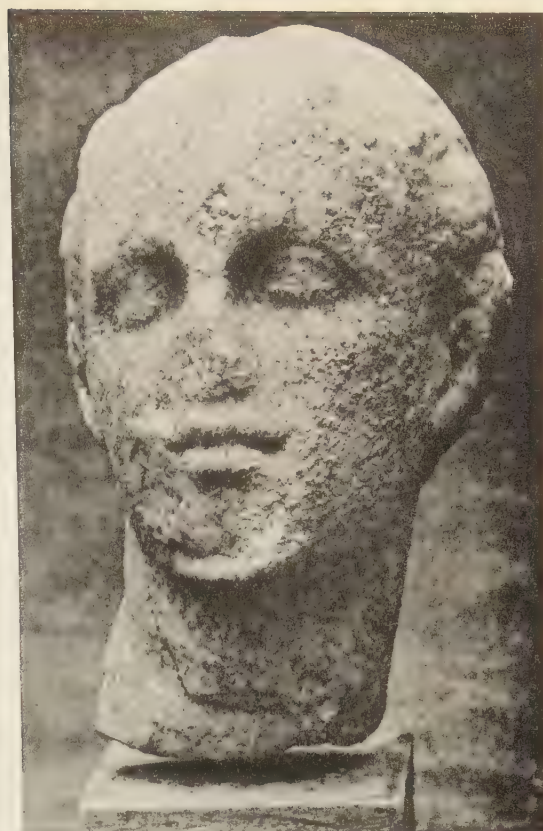
c. Attic Black-Figured Fragments from the Hall of Votive Gifts



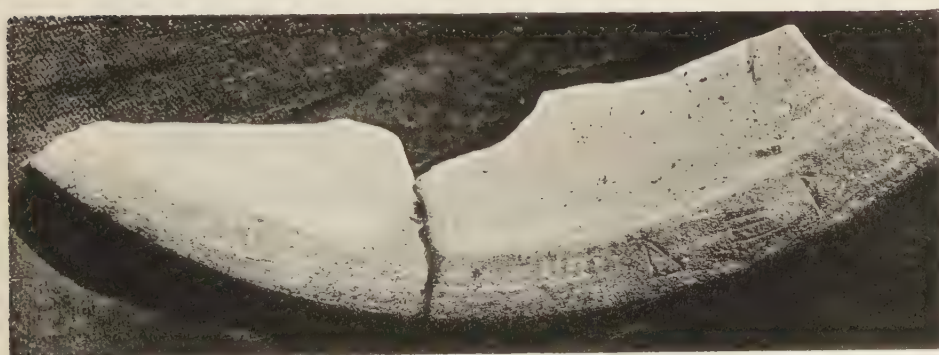
d. Attic Red-Figured Fragment from the Hall of Votive Gifts



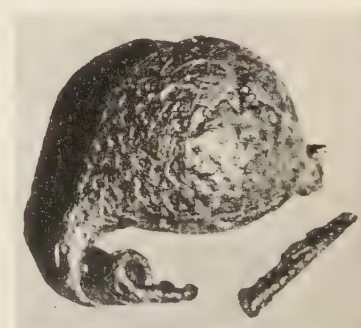
a. Fragmentary Terracotta Head from the Hall of Votive Gifts



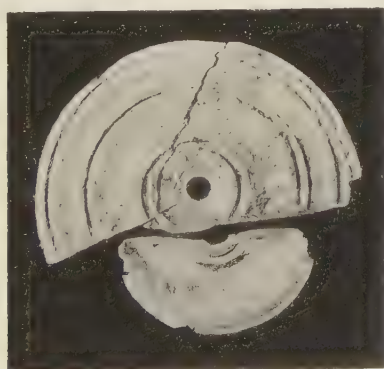
b. Head of a Hellenistic Marble Statuette



c. Fragment with Incised Inscription from the Hall of Votive Gifts



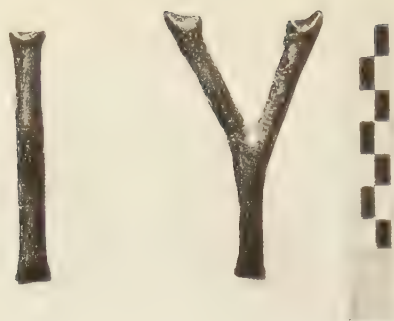
d. Bronze Fibula from the Hall of Votive Gifts



e. Fragments of a Bone Pyxis from the Hall of Votive Gifts



f. Silver Nail from the Hall of Votive Gifts



a. Gilded Bronze Letters from the Hall of Votive Gifts



b. Gilded Bronze Letters from the Hall of Votive Gifts, seen from Back



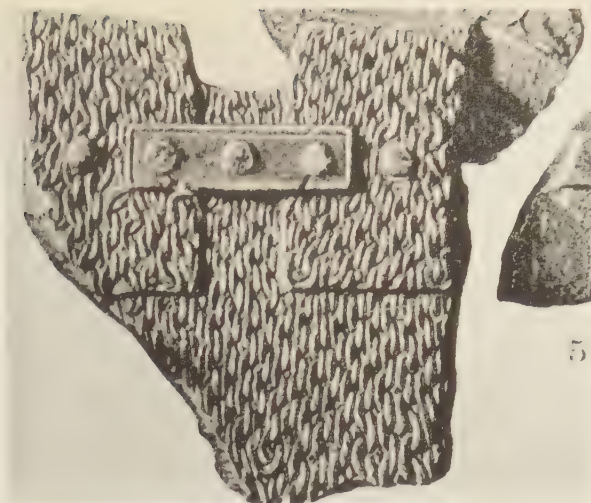
c. Stele of Sasamas, Istanbul, Ottoman Museum



d. and e. Foot of a Hellenistic Vase with Relief Decoration from the Hall of Votive Gifts



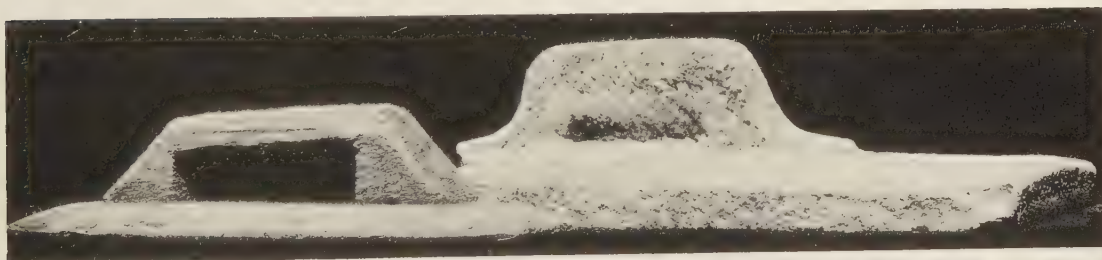
a. Fragment of Chain Mail from the Hall of Votive Gifts



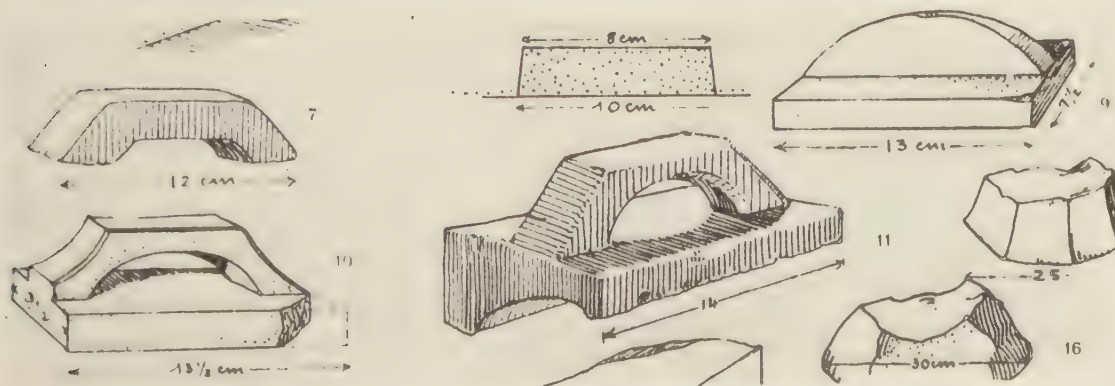
b. Fragment from the Parapet of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon



c. Hall of Votive Gifts. Stuccoed Floor near Southwestern Corner with Marble Float



d. Marble Float from the Hall of Votive Gifts and (left) Modern Wooden Float



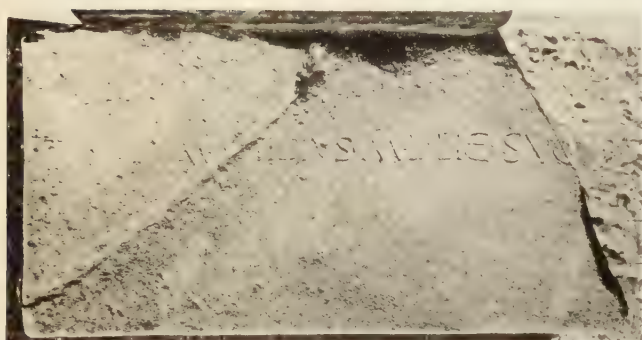
e. Archaic Tufa Floats from Sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina



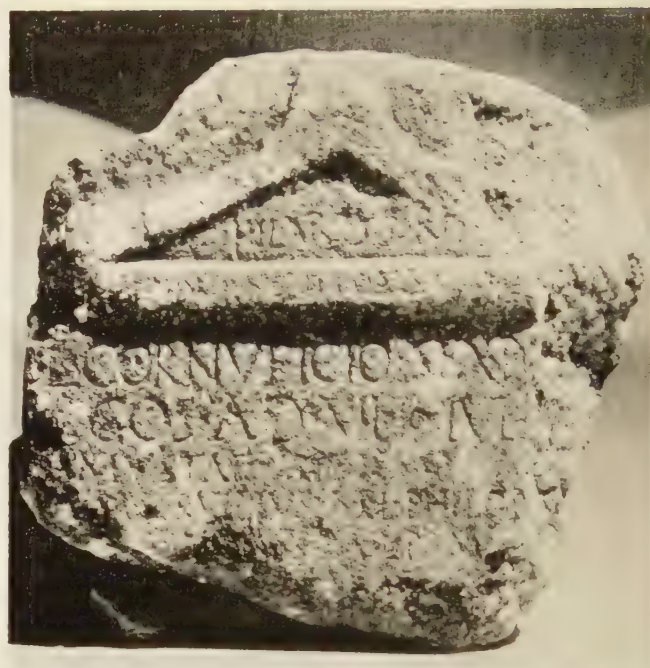
a. Centaur Relief, Left Foreleg



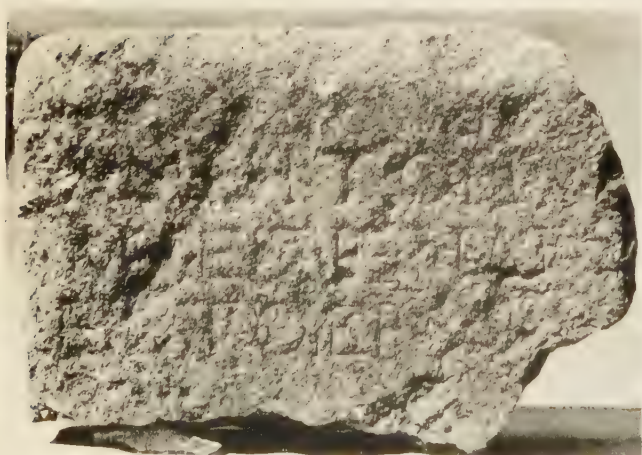
b. Centaur Relief, Right Hand



c. Fragmentary Latin Dedicatory Inscription



d. Fragmentary Stele with Catalogue of Mystae



e. Fragmentary Stele Forbidding Entry into a Building



f. Three Sided Marble Pyramid
from Rocky Glade



a. View from Southwest: The Hall of Votive Gifts (left), the Altar Court (right), the "New Temple" (background)



b. Northern Foundation Wall of the Altar Court



a. Fragmentary Architrave Block from the Altar Court



b. Fragmentary Architrave Block from the Altar Court



c. Fragment of a Smaller Replica of the Dedicatory Inscription of the Altar Court



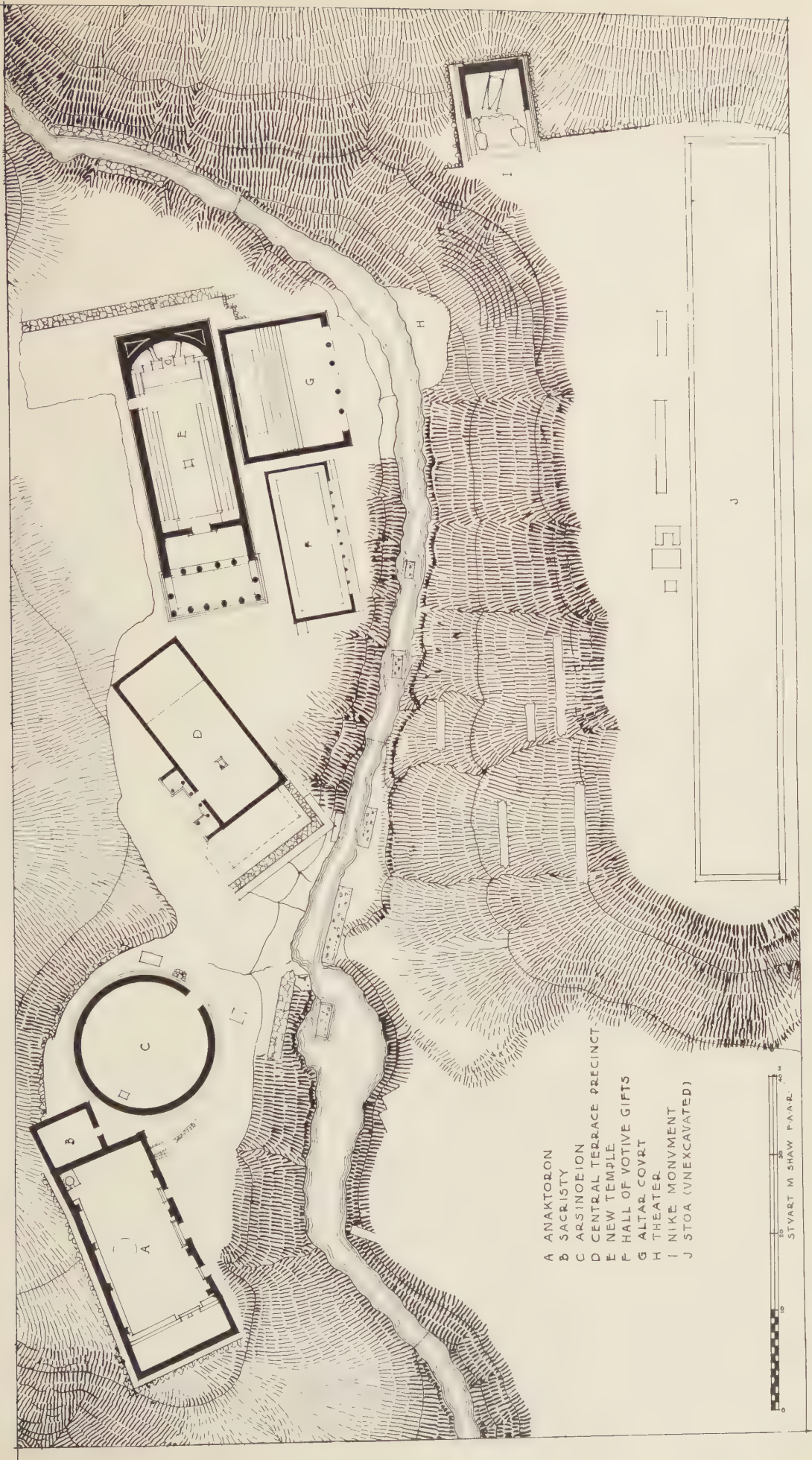
d. Fragment of a Smaller Replica of the Dedicatory Inscription of the Altar Court



e. Altar and Spring in Rocky Glade



f. Rocky Glade with Archaic Altar



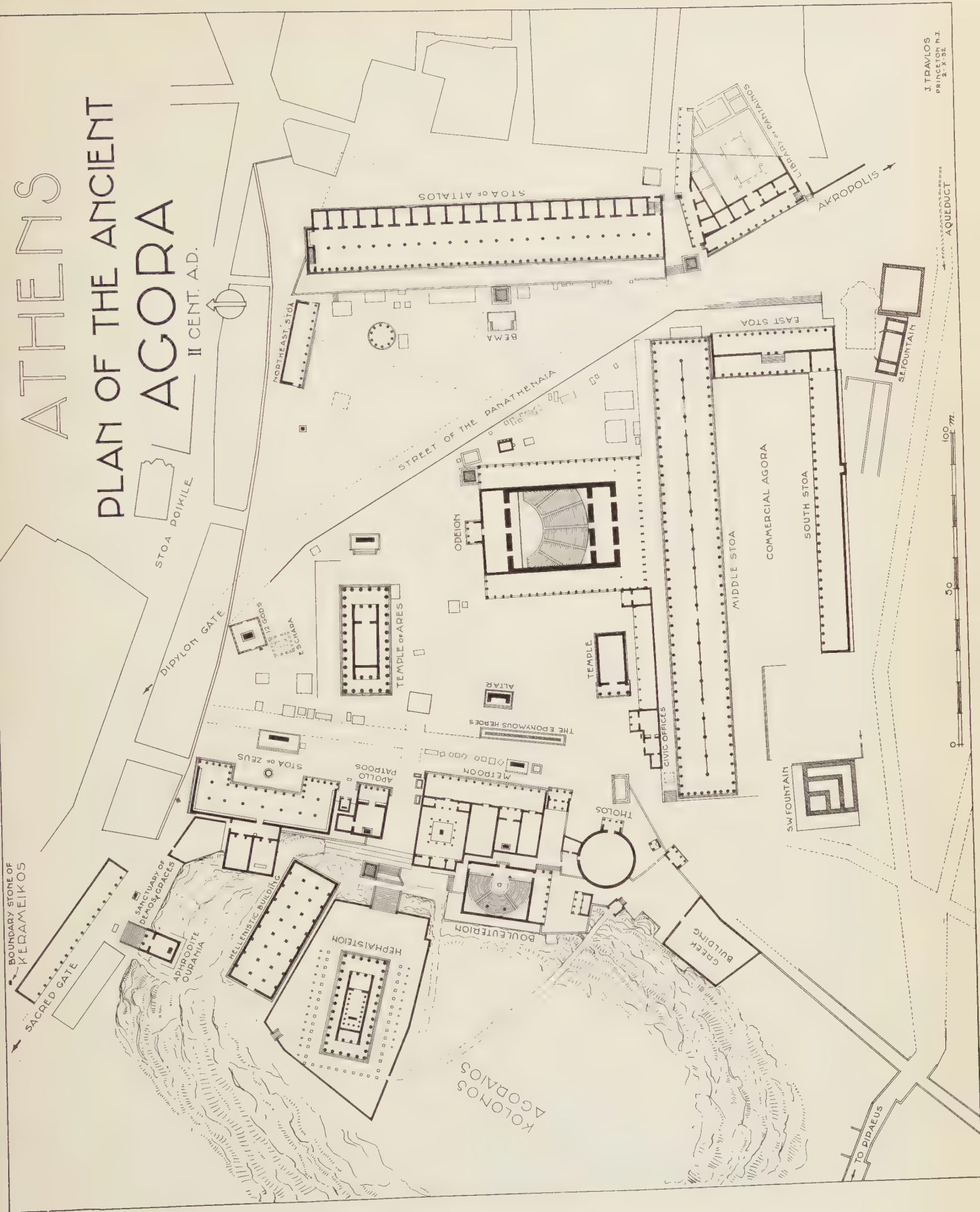
Restored Plan of the Sanctuary at Samothrace

KARL LEHMANN: SAMOTHRACE: SIXTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

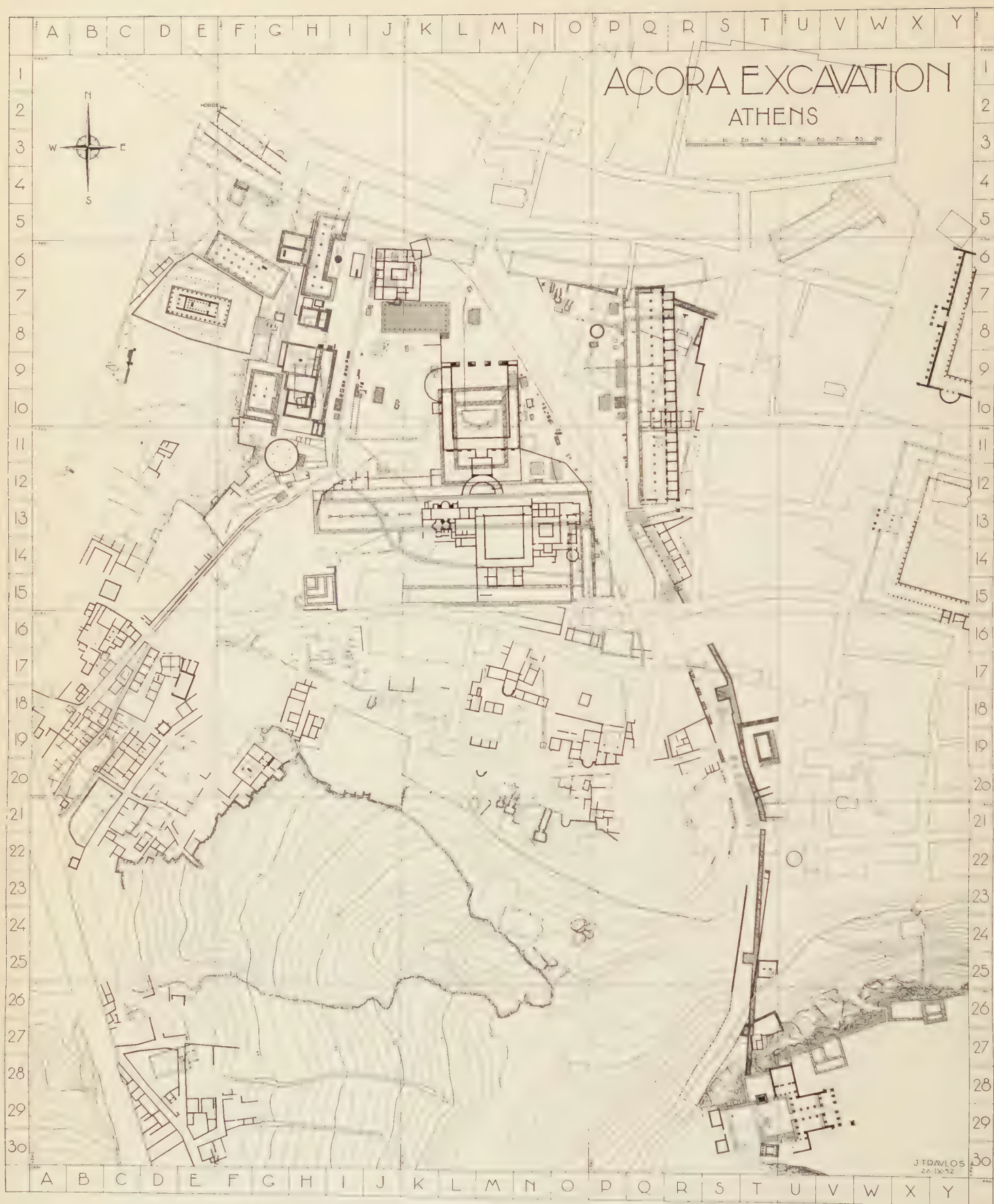
ATHENS

PLAN OF THE ANCIENT AGORA

II CENT. AD.



HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



Actual State Plan of the Athenian Agora

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a. Southeast Fountain House from the Southeast. Church of the Holy Apostles to the Right

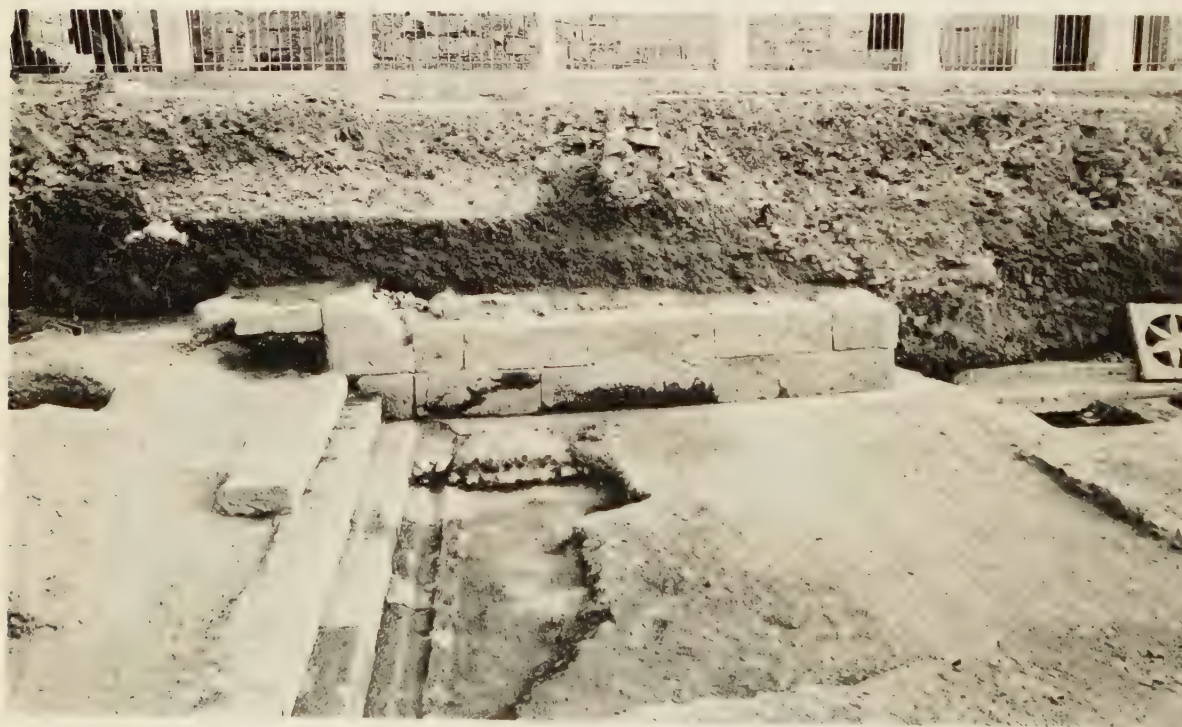


b. Northeast Corner of the Southeast Fountain House

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



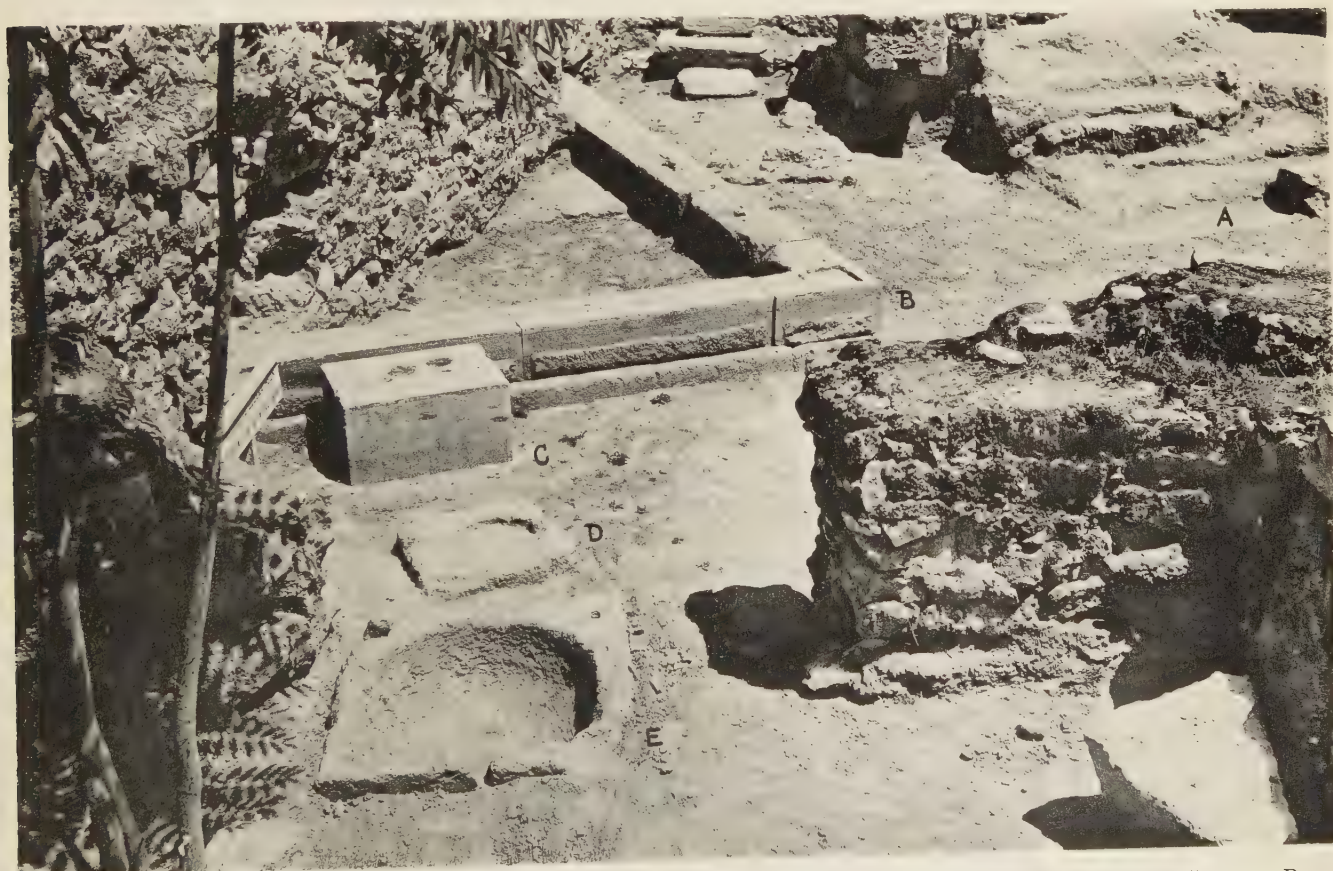
a. Area of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora from the North. A: Southeast Corner of the Middle Stoa, B: East Foundation of East Stoa, C: West Foundation of East Stoa, D: Steps leading to Panathenaic Way



b. Steps and Monument to East of East Stoa from the North



a. Archaic Eschara from the North. Above its corner are the Foundations of an Exhedra



b. Peribolos of the Twelve Gods from the West. A: Eschara, B: Southwest Corner of Peribolos, C: Leagros Base, D: Base for Perirrhanterion (?), E: Water Basin



a. Area to East of the Odeion from the Northwest. A: LH III Grave, B-E: Geometric Wells (E with burial in its mouth), F: Early seventh century Well, G: "Protoattic Well East of the Odeion"



b. Stoa of Zeus after Conservation from the Northeast

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



a. LH III Chamber Tomb (A) and Remains of Monument Base (B)



b. Vases from Chamber Tomb (P 22318, 22319)



c. Terracotta Emblema from Bowl (P 22351)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



a. Neck of Dipylon Amphora (P 22435)



b. Amphora from Protoattic Well to East of Odeion (P 22299)



c. and d. Protoattic Oinochoe (P 22550) and Amphora (P 22551) from Well behind Stoa of Attalos

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



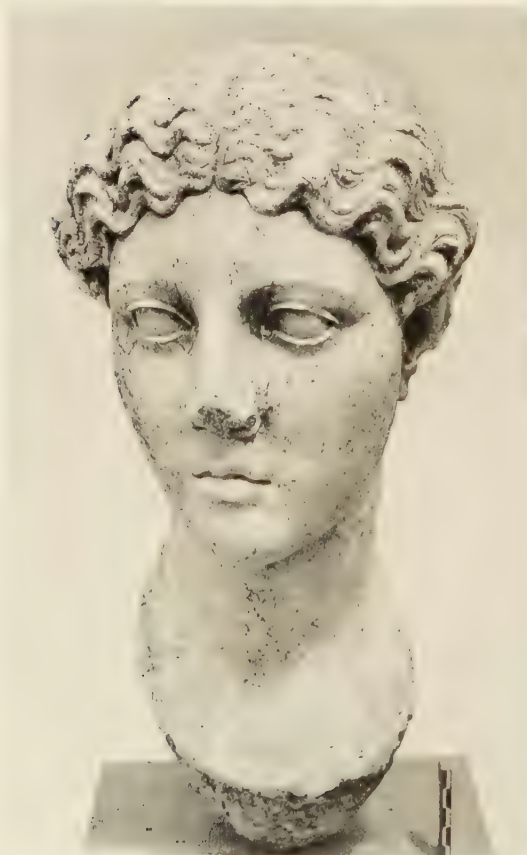
a. and b. Statue of Venus Genetrix type (S 1654). Height 0.93 m.



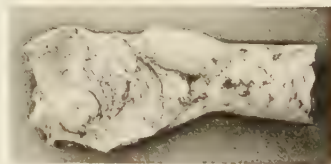
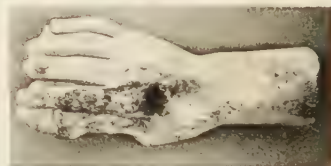
c. and d. Statuette of Asklepios (S 1589). Height 0.235 m.



a. Upper Part of Stele (I 6524). 336 B.C.



b. Portrait Head (S 1631). Height 0.38 m.



c. Hand associated with Portrait Head (S 1627)



d. Head of an Easterner (S 1596). Height 0.17 m.

POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY FROM A WELL IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 21-41)

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INTRODUCTION

IN previous issues of this journal there have appeared several studies of fifth century pottery found in the American excavations of the Athenian Agora. They give particular emphasis to the plainer wares, both the black-glazed and the household varieties. The first two decades are served by Eugene Vanderpool's account of the upper fill of the rectangular rock-cut shaft (XV, 1946, pp. 265-336, pls. 25-69); the succeeding two decades by Lucy Talcott's "Vases and Kalos-names from an Agora Well" (V, 1936, pp. 333-354); the third quarter by her "Attic Black-Glazed Stamped Ware and other Pottery from a Fifth Century Well" (IV, 1935, pp. 476-523); and the last quarter by Peter E. Corbett's "Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century from the Athenian Agora" (XVIII, 1949, pp. 298-351, pls. 73-103).

It will be observed that a gap exists in this series, at the middle years of the century, and until lately a corresponding gap existed also in the Agora collections. In the excavation season of 1951, however, this hiatus was fortunately and abundantly filled, by the contents of a well discovered near the middle of the north side of the Market Square (cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 111). The pottery from this well, which was mended and restored under the supervision of the writer, is the subject of the present study, the preparation of which has been facilitated by the existence of the

earlier articles, which furnish points of reference on either side.¹ The reader may therefore expect them to be cited frequently. Only in one or two places has the new material required revision of what has already been written; for the rest it has strengthened and confirmed.²

The well (Section Σ, 45/Θ, grid reference N7) was excavated to a depth of 10 meters. From the top to a point about six meters down, the filling consisted of roof tiles, potsherds, animal bones, small stones and a little clay. The amount of pottery was considerable, being about one five-gallon container for every 10 centimeters; the number of bones was also large. Throughout these first six meters the fill was uniform, no one of the principal constituents being conspicuously absent at any level.

At the 6.00 m. point the filling changed to broken bedrock, and continued so to the 10.00 m. point, where it was necessary to abandon the excavation because the sides of the well began to collapse. These last four meters produced a few potsherds, but altogether less than half a container-full.

The pottery in the first six meters included red-figure and black-glaze, semi-glazed kitchen ware, coarse cooking ware and storage jars. These several fabrics were present in all layers, by far the largest bulk being constituted by the wine jars, of which there were fragments of at least 65. Of those pots that were recreated in part or in whole, it was noted that their fragments usually occurred relatively close together, often within a group of 10 consecutive containers. A number of joins, however, was made over a much greater distance: a fragment from container 10 joined one in container 70; fragments from several containers between 60 and 80 were found to belong to a pot (No. 5) whose other surviving pieces were in and around

¹ This article was written while I was a member of the American School of Classical Studies. In its preparation I have benefited greatly from the advice and interest of friends and colleagues in Athens. On many points of detail, in particular those relating to the graffiti and dipinti, Eugene Vanderpool has given much help. It should be noted too that it was under his supervision that the well was excavated. The pages on red-figure have been much improved through suggestions offered by both Barbara Philippaki and Peter Corbett. The section on the wine jars (Nos. 147-170, pp. 101-110, Pls. 39, 40) has been kindly prepared by Virginia Grace. And from beginning to end I have enjoyed generous and effective assistance from Lucy Talcott. The photographs that accompany the text are all by Alison Frantz, and the drawings by Rhoda Herz, with the exception of No. 82 in Figure 1 and Figures 5, 7, and 8, which were made by Marian Holland.

The University of Cincinnati, by releasing me from my teaching obligations for an entire year, and the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Fund of that university, by a liberal financial subsidy, have made possible the continued residence in Athens that has naturally been indispensable to the completion of this study.

² The following articles in *Hesperia* also contain much important material bearing on this study: M. Z. Pease, "A Well of the Late Fifth Century at Corinth," VI, 1937, pp. 257-316; Oscar Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," VII, 1938, pp. 161-263; Mary Thorne Campbell, "A Well of the Black-figured Period at Corinth," VII, 1938, pp. 557-611; Carl Roebuck, "Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis," 1937-1938," IX, 1940, pp. 141-260.

container 31; and another (No. 98) was constructed from fragments in containers 35, 59, 69, 72-74 and 77-80. In the light of these circumstances it seems obvious that the contents of the well represent a single filling, the constituents of which were thrown in all at the same time.

It proved impossible to excavate the well to the very bottom, and there may thus exist unrecovered evidence concerning the length of time it was in use. As it is, we have only some marks of wear, as from the passage of ropes, on the rim of the well-head (No. 193), which had fallen in along with the pottery filling. Probably the course of its modern excavation reflects its earlier history. There were numerous minor cave-ins during the recent excavation, and one or two major collapses. At the lower levels it was necessary to shore up the walls with wooden braces, but even thus it was not possible to continue all the way. It may be supposed that the original diggers met the same difficulties in cutting down through the soft green shale of which the bedrock is composed. It is possible, therefore, that the filling of the lower four meters derives from a collapse that took place not long after the time of digging and that made the well useful only as a depository for rubbish.

The chronological limits of the deposit have been determined on the basis of the red-figured pieces contained in it. Most of these will fit very comfortably into the decade 460-450 B.C., and none need be much, if at all, earlier. The latest is probably the fragment of an amphora by the Barclay Painter (No. 3), which is here placed between 450 and 440, probably nearer the lower limit than the upper. An ostrakon of Perikles (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 113, pl. 31 f.; here No. 131) is also very possibly one of the later objects in the filling. That the deposit does not go down any distance into the third quarter of the century is suggested also by the fact that among the large amount of black-glazed pottery there was not a single scrap of incised or impressed decoration. It may also be noted that there are no bolsals (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 331, No. 77). It seems probable therefore that the accumulation took place within a period of less than 20 years.

The variety of fabrics is most striking: from the finest red-figure to the coarsest kitchen ware, no category being slighted. And besides the pots there are fragments of many other terracotta objects, such as bathtubs, roof tiles and water pipes. There were also large quantities of bones, principally those of cattle and goats, a type of debris noted in other deposits of various periods along the east side of the Agora (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 51).

The quantity and variety of the filling raise more questions than usually attend speculation over the origins of such deposits. The bones are presumably refuse, and their presence in the fill argues against the assumption that we are dealing with the effects of some great and sudden disaster. It seems unlikely too that we have to deal with the rubbish from a single household. For it may be wondered what household,

even over a decade, could break as many as 125 cups. Yet the occurrence of loom-weights suggest that some of the fill, at least, must derive from a private, rather than a public, establishment. There is much room here for the play of fancy. Of more immediate significance is the fact that the well has presented us with an extraordinarily rich and comprehensive picture of the ceramic furnishings of Athenian households in the mid-fifth century. There is nothing here that might not have appeared at Perikles' table, or have found a place elsewhere in his house.

In the catalogue that follows, in the absence of any statement to the contrary, all vases may be regarded as of Attic manufacture.³ It may be understood also that restorations have been made in plaster wherever possible. But where a profile is incomplete, or the extant fragments do not provide a certain basis for the restoration, this fact will be mentioned specifically in the text. The application of red wash to the reserved surfaces of finer wares is fairly general, and this fact too will not be given individual mention in the catalogue unless some special circumstance warrants it. Some shapes, however, e. g. mugs (Nos. 44-45), seem definitely excluded from this treatment, and the same is true of the finer semi-glazed pieces. In these vases that lack the red wash there appears to be a greater uniformity in the black glaze.

The names of shapes, at least for the red-figured and black-glazed wares, are taken largely from the list on pp. viii-x of J. D. Beazley's *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942. This work will be referred to hereafter by the abbreviation *ARV*.

All catalogued objects from the well are published here, with the exception of P 21993, a fragmentary Mycenaean jar, which probably derives from a small chamber tomb cut through in the original well-digging (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 106). In statements of the quantity of uncatalogued material the minimum figure will invariably be given. Fragments the identity of which is not clear have not been entered in these estimates. It may be added that no effort has been made to cite exhaustive parallels, but only those references that are most apt or comprehensive.

POTS

1. *Red-figured amphora, type B*. Pl. 21.

P 21859. H. 0.60 m.; d. 0.44 m. About one-quarter missing, mostly from the lower part of the body and the foot.

A. Pursuit scene: a man (Zeus ?) looks right and extends his right hand in an urgent and explanatory gesture toward a young woman who runs right and looks back left.

B. A second young woman, sister or friend of the first, also runs right and looks back left.

Relief contours: on A, for the nose and forehead, throat and neck of each figure, also for the man's left wrist and hand, right upper arm, and for his sceptre; on B, for the right forearm, throat and neck (possibly also for the left forearm, nose and forehead: the surfaces here are worn).

Below the figure scenes, stopped meander,

³ The following pieces are regarded as non-Attic: Nos. 83, 94, 96, 98, 102, 103, 106-111, 127, 148-170, 181, 185, 186, 189.

punctuated by cross squares; tongues at the base of each handle. The glaze around the rim and neck of side B is much worn and chipped. Thin brownish glaze on the interior.

The excellence of the composition compensates for the sparseness of the subject matter. Especially fine is the sense of motion conveyed by the fluid and expressive lines that form the lower borders of the himations. But motion exists throughout each figure, and passes rhythmically and continuously, from one to the other, about the vase.

Attributed, by Miss Talcott, to the Boreas Painter; her attribution has been confirmed by Sir John Beazley, who adds it to the list, *ARV*, p. 339, as No. 34 bis (ms. *Paralipomena* to *ARV*, p. 1405).

2. Fragmentary red-figured amphora, type B.
Pl. 22.

P 21402. A dozen or more fragments preserve most of the rim, part of one handle (circular in section), and small portions of the wall, including a little of the figured scene on each side. To judge by the remains of the rim and handle, this amphora may have been identical in size with No. 1. Four fragments are illustrated; their maximum dimensions are as follows: a) 0.08 m.; b) 0.17 m.; c) 0.06 m.; d) 0.065 m.

Fragment a) contains part of the upper border: oblique palmettes joined by double volutes. On b) there is part of a draped male figure to right, leaning on his staff. In the field in front of him is a large amphora with figured decoration in silhouette: a nude man, holding a spear with his left hand, looking to his proper right and stretching out his right hand. Above his head is a band of Z's between single lines; he stands on a plain ground line. This amphora is apparently held out towards the draped figure by someone on the right, now missing. Fragment c) contains some of the stopped meander pattern that formed the lower border and, above this, the remains of toes, either frontal or in profile to the left.

Fragment d) comes from the opposite side of the vase. Below the palmette band, here considerably narrower, is the upper part of the head of a female figure, left, wearing a broad diadem with rays.

Relief lines are used for the band of the woman's diadem but not for its points; for the volutes in the palmette band, and for the circumference lines that enclose both borders. The glaze is dull black, mottled with red and brown and partly worn, especially at the rim. On the interior there is a thin wash of light red to brownish glaze.

Fragment b) makes one think of the Louvre amphora CA 1852 (*CVA*, fasc. 8, III I d, pl. 38, 1 and 2; *ARV*, p. 340, 5). This, like ours, is a type B, and on each side one of the two figures holds an amphora, also type B, which is presumably the shape represented on No. 2. The conceit of amphora on amphora produces an obvious association between the Louvre vase and ours, and this association is strengthened by the general similarity of the drawing and the use on both of the same border ornaments. The Louvre amphora is listed in *ARV*, p. 340, 5, as probably by the Boreas Painter. If ours is also, then we have from the well a pair of amphoras by the same hand, the original property, doubtless, of the same owner.

3. Fragment of red-figured amphora, type A or type B. Pl. 22.

P 21403. Pres. H. 0.22 m. Four joining fragments from the neck and upper part of the wall. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 111 and pl. 30 c.

A warrior leaving home. The fragment preserves his head and shoulders, right forearm and hand. He stands facing right, his head inclined, holding a phiale in his right hand and a spear in his left. He wears an Attic helmet, with the cheek-pieces up; on the visible one, in dilute glaze, a serpent; at the base of the crest, egg and dot pattern. His sword was slung over his right shoulder, and a cloak thrown over the left.

Above the picture a band of double palmettes, obliquely placed, and joined by pairs of volutes. The spear crosses this border and ends on the neck above it.

Relief contours for the spear, except its tip; for the central leaves of the palmettes and for the volutes that join them; for the crest of the helmet; but only occasionally in the human figure, and then as the result of the prolongation of interior details. The phiale is somewhat carelessly executed, its lower contour being irregular; and at each end the black glaze overlaps the outline drawn in relief. On the interior, thin glaze, brown to black.

Miss Barbara Philippaki has noted that this fragment is by the same hand as an amphora with twisted handles in the Louvre, G 429, *CVA*, fasc. 8, III I d, pl. 39, 1-4 and 6, which is listed in *ARV*, p. 663, as probably by the Barclay Painter. Her association of the two pieces has been confirmed by Sir John Beazley, who adds it to the list, *ARV*, p. 663, as No. 5 (ms. *Paralipomena to ARV*, pp. 1414-1415).

4. *Fragmentary red-figured amphora*. Pl. 22.

P 21289. Nothing remains of the rim or base. All extant figured parts are illustrated except the lower end of the stick held by the youth on B and the last square and a half of the meander pattern below it. The stick does not quite reach this lower border.

A. Pres. H. 0.205 m. On the left, a man, wearing a himation and carrying a stick under his left arm. With his right hand he holds out a lyre towards a youth (?), whose head and part of whose body are missing. Apparently his direction is also right, but he turns to look back and left. Relief contours for forearm and hand of the man, and for the arms and cross-pieces of the lyre.

B. Max. dim. 0.27 m. There are remains only of the right hand figure, a youth, who looks left and extends his right hand toward the center of the scene; he holds a stick in his left hand. A plain fillet of white about his hair; no relief contours.

A leaf-wreath above the picture; running meander punctuated by saltire squares below; tongues at the base of the handles. Black glaze, mostly clouded with gray, and occasionally mottled with red; interior thinly glazed, black to brown.

5. *Red-figured bell-krater*. Pl. 23.

P 21352. Estimated D. of rim 0.50 m. Many fragments, joining and non-joining, preserve about half the wall and rim and the start of the handles, but nothing of the foot.

A. Menelaos pursuing Helen. Most of the scene is missing: what remains consists of four joining fragments (shown in the photograph as two) from the rim and the top of the wall, plus a non-joining fragment from lower down. From left to right, Menelaos, Apollo, Helen, Eros, and Aphrodite. Menelaos moves right, in earnest pursuit, but is confronted and stayed by Apollo. Behind Apollo is Helen, who seeks the protection of Aphrodite. The goddess has already sent Eros to attend her.

Menelaos is the best preserved: head, shoulders, part of left arm and shield. He wears a helmet of the "Thracian" type. The fringe of his beard shows along the lower edge of the cheek-piece, but his hair is not visible between helmet and cuirass. Dilute glaze is used for the rosette that ornaments the shoulder-piece, for the shading on the interior of the shield, and for the chevrons on its arm-band.

Of Apollo there remain head and left shoulder, and, on fragment c, the tails of his himation. This fragment also contains part of Helen's foot and some lines of her drapery. The position of the foot and the oblique lines of the drapery both indicate motion toward the right. Above, there is left only the top of her head. Again on fragment c, is part of the stalk of the laurel branch, which was doubtless held in Apollo's left hand. Of Eros there is the head, part of the face and wings, and a hand (?); of Aphrodite, only the upper part of the head. She wears a stephane. Relief contours are used for the line of Menelaos' nose,

the front of his helmet, and his right shoulder, and for the face and throat of Apollo.

We owe the identification of the subject to Madame Lilly B. Ghali-Kahil, who also kindly shared with us her references to similar scenes. The subject is a popular one on red-figured vases, as witness the list of entries in the mythological index of *ARV*, p. 983. Apollo intervenes several times on behalf of Helen, and occasionally she takes refuge in his sanctuary. The appropriateness here of Apollo and his shrine has been discussed by Dugas, in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, XXXIX, 1937, p. 193 ff., and by Furtwängler, in *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ii, pp. 128-129.

B. There were at least four figures, and perhaps only four; they are spaced at wider intervals than those on A. At the left, a woman, in chiton and himation, moves right, her right hand outstretched. Her face is missing; a triple fillet in an applied color binds her hair. Next is a standing male figure, to right, his himation apparently drawn high about his neck. Along the break there are some traces of his hair. Facing him is a woman holding a torch; in the field between the two is the knob of some object, most probably the top of a sceptre held by the man. At the extreme right (Pl. 23, B c-d) is another woman, also moving toward the center, her right hand perhaps outstretched, a counterpart of the woman on the extreme left. There are no relief contours in the extant portions of this scene.

A palmette ornament filled the space between the handles. There were black tongues around the handle-roots, a leaf-wreath on the rim, and stopped meander below the picture.

The glaze outside has in part fired red, especially near the base. The rim is chipped and worn, and in two places is scored with several deep transverse strokes. Inside there are two narrow reserved bands, one at the edge of the rim and the other about two inches below it. The glaze on the interior has fired a uniform and handsome red, but the surface has suffered.

It now consists of two layers; the outer, much of which has peeled, is smooth and hard, and darker in color than the red beneath, the surface of which is softer than that above.

At the time these pieces were excavated it was observed by Miss Talcott and other members of the Agora staff that their style was in the manner of the Niobid Painter, and this observation has since been confirmed by Sir John Beazley, who adds it to the list, *ARV*, p. 425, as no. 6 bis (ms. *Paralipomena to ARV*, p. 1414).

6. Red-figured bell-krater. Pl. 24.

P 21349. H. 0.245 m.; D. of rim 0.285 m. Substantially complete; the missing fragments are numerous but small.

The foot is disk-like. Its outer face tapers slightly; its inner face is broad and concave, and slightly offset from the underside of the foot; the resting-surface is very narrow. The entire underside of foot and floor was reserved.

A. Two youths facing. The one on the left stands beside a column and holds out a lyre to his friend, who is bundled up in his himation and leans forward on his stick. The first youth wears a plain fillet in applied color.

B. A youth holds out his right hand toward a woman, who turns to look back at him; she has been moving, or is about to move, right. Between them is a stool covered with a cushion; a sash hangs on the wall. The youth wears the same kind of fillet as his counterpart on A. Relief contour for his chin, but none detectable elsewhere. Stopped meander below the figure scenes; a continuous band of egg pattern above.

The glaze on the outside has fired variously from black to reddish-brown, and much of it has peeled; the relief lines in particular have almost completely disappeared, leaving furrows behind them in the surface of the vase: a fairly tenacious red wash is prominent on the reserved areas; the clay is a pale buff. These characteristics produce an effect which recalls Corinthian imitations of Attic red-figure; they can however be paralleled on Attic black glazed

vases where the clay occasionally fires to an equally pale color and the glaze tends to peel. In such cases, the milto wash of the reserved areas stands out in sharp contrast to the color of the clay, as it does in our krater.

So far as can be judged from the ruinous condition of the surface the drawing was of respectable quality. The subject matter and the style find parallels among the works of the school of Makron.

7. *Fragment of red-figured bell-krater.* Pl. 25.

P 21405. Pres. H. 0.10 m.; estimated D. of rim 0.30 m. Several joining fragments preserve a small part of rim and wall. On the rim is a leaf-wreath, simply drawn. The leaves have no mid-rib and no connection with the stem, and their outer edges are cut off in a straight line along the borders.

In the figure scene, the head and upper part of the body of a bearded reveller, wearing a woolen fillet, but otherwise apparently nude. He looks left, his left arm is drawn back, and his head is inclined. In the field in front of him can be seen the top of a lyre, either to be thought of as hanging on the wall or being held by another member of the party.

Relief contour for the arms and cross-piece of the lyre, but not for the struts at the end. In the figure of the komast some relief contour appears along the forearm, but only as a continuation of lines used for interior details. Space has been left for the ear, but it was never drawn in. Dilute glaze for the zigzags on the fillet and for the plain lines that separate them. The black glaze on the outside is dull, on the inside good. There is a narrow reserved band just inside the rim and another lower down, at a level corresponding to the top of the figure scene.

8. *Fragmentary red-figured bell-krater with lugs.* Pl. 25 and Fig. 1.

P 21375. D. of rim 0.30 m. Almost all of the rim is preserved, one of the lugs and part of each of the figured scenes, joining the rim;

nothing of the base. (The photographs show the wall fragments separately, without the rim.)

On each side, youths conversing. A. On the left, the head and chest of a youth who faces right. He wears a himation and holds a lyre. Of his companion there remains only a trace of the hair over the forehead. In the background between them, a cross: a glazed dot on each of the arms and one at the center (on this object see H. R. W. Smith in *CVA*, University of California, fasc. 1, pp. 41-42, text to pl. 36, 1). B. On the left, the lower half of a male figure wrapped in a himation. On the right, a similar figure; only his head and chest are preserved. Between the two figures, a strigil. Relief contours only for the lyre and cross on A. Above the picture is a band of stubby tongues. The glaze is occasionally mottled with red. Note that over each extant head the contour stripe trespasses on the upper border.

On the shape, see Smith in *CVA*, San Francisco, fasc. 1, pp. 44-45, text to pl. 22. With respect to the style, the contrast between the heads on the two sides of the vase is striking enough to make the attribution of both figures to the same painter dubious, were they not firmly joined to one and the same rim. The youth with the lyre represents the classical period; the other, on the back, still belongs to the period just passed. Either two different people, an older and a younger, worked on the vase, or else the painter of both sides, living in a transitional period, painted each in a different mood.

9. *Red-figured oinochoe with twisted handle; inscribed.* Pl. 26 and Fig. 1.

P 21860. H. 0.205 m.; greatest D. 0.18 m.; D. of foot 0.093 m. Missing fragments of the body, including much of the figured scene.

Ring foot, finely profiled; flat resting surface; inner face concave, and offset from underside of floor. Rounded body. Short, slightly concave neck. The rim is essentially circular in plan, but on each side, near the handle, there is a slight upward indentation,

faintly suggesting a trefoil lip. The upper surface of the rim is flat, and slopes in. Twisted handle, rooted in body and rim; a finger-mark at its base. The two elements of the handle

divide near the rim and proceed separately along it a short distance; the space between them is solid.

The figured scene is enclosed as follows:

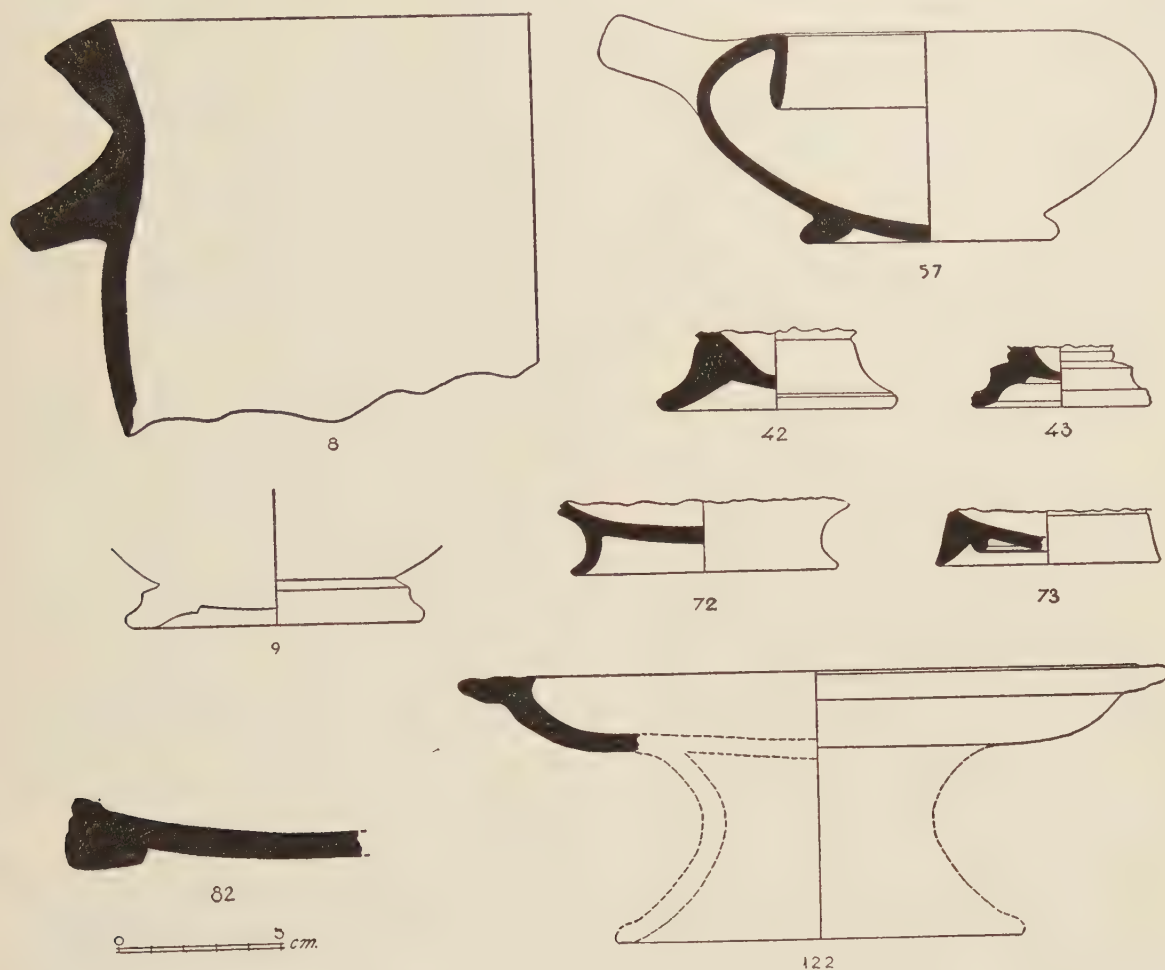


FIG. 1. No. 8 Red-figured Bell-krater, No. 9 Base of Red-figured Oinochoe, Nos. 42-43 Oinochoe Bases, No. 57 Black-glazed Kothon, Nos. 72-73 Bases of Bowls, No. 82 Fragment of Public Measure, No. 122 Shallow Brazier.

above by tongues; below by stopped meander and nine square checkers; on each side by a narrow reserved band. The panel is off center with reference to the handle.

Parts of three figures are preserved. On the left is a goat-man, who has leaped high into the

air, his right foot forward, his left foot back. There remain parts from shoulder and back, the tail, the buttocks, parts of upper legs and left calf, both feet, and the left hand. In the center a goddess rises from the earth: there are left only some lines of her drapery. On the

right was a second goat-man: there are preserved only a few lines from his horns. Above the horns are the faint traces of letters: σκ[ι]ρτῶν (see Pl. 26). I should prefer to take this as a simple description of the action rather than as a name. Relief contours for all extant parts of the figure scene, and also for the reserved bands that enclose it.

In places on the exterior the glaze is worn and faded. On the exterior of the neck there is good black glaze; on the interior of the body, it is thin and brownish-black, except for a bare space around the shoulder. The undersurface of the foot and floor is reserved.

The treatment of the subject is essentially the same as on the Boston skyphos, 01.8032, by the Penthesilea Painter (H. Diepolder, *Der Penthesilea-maler*, Leipzig, 1936, pl. 22; *ARV*, p. 588, 103). The goddess will be either Aphrodite or Persephone. It is not possible to decide with assurance between the two. Robert once argued, in *Archäologischen Märchen*, Berlin, 1886, p. 195, that the simple dress of the Boston figure was inappropriate to Persephone. And we may, with some reason, expect this goddess to be clothed like a queen and to wear a crown. This is the manner in which she is represented in two fifth century *anodoi* where inscriptions remove all doubt about her identity: the bell-krater, New York 28.57.23 (G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 156-158, pl. 124; *ARV*, p. 651, 1), and the calyx-krater, Dresden 350 (F. Brommer, *Satyroi*, Würzburg, 1937, p. 64; *ARV*, p. 699, 67). In two inscribed scenes, on the other hand, where the goddess is certainly Aphrodite her dress is plain and her attitude ingenuous rather than stately: white-ground pyxis, Ancona (*Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VIII, 1940, p. 52, fig. 7; *ARV*, p. 588, 113); pelike, Rhodes 12454 (*CVA*, Rhodes, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 1, 2-3; pl. 2, 1; *ARV*, p. 720, 2). In the latter, Aphrodite is attended by Hermes and Pan, and her dress and pose are similar to those of the goddess on

the Boston skyphos. On the pyxis at Ancona she is attended by Eros, and the action takes place in the presence of Peitho, Charis, Zeus, and Hera. This pyxis is by the Penthesilea Painter (*ARV*, p. 588, no. 113), i. e. by the same hand as the Boston skyphos. That the same painter should treat the same incident in two completely different ways may perhaps seem unusual, but is by no means impossible. I incline therefore to the view that the goddess on the Boston skyphos and also on No. 9 is Aphrodite. The accidents of survival may have deprived us of the key to an exact solution of the problem: we would gladly exchange the extant inscription for one that may have stood in the space, now missing, above the goddess' head.

References to the pertinent literature on *anodos* scenes of the fifth century are conveniently assembled by Henri Metzger in *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 172), Paris, 1951, pp. 69-70, 72 ff., and 232-233. Two of the scenes, however, that he identifies as the birth of Aphrodite (*op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 3) should strictly be placed in the optional category: the Boston skyphos, and the cup, Villa Giulia 50320 (*Arch. Anz.*, XLIII, 1928, col. 167, fig. 29; *ARV*, p. 556, no. 5). See also Rumpf, "Anadyomene," in *Jahrbuch*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, pp. 166-174.

What is left of the drawing is extremely fine, especially so the hand of the goat-man, which has a delicacy scarcely compatible with his nature. There are hands in this style on several of the works of the Chicago Painter, e. g. the Boston oinochoe 13.191 (L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1931, pl. 18, no. 42; *ARV*, p. 409, 33), the left hand of the figure on the right.

We have found no parallel for the shape. The closest comparisons are again with works decorated by the Chicago Painter, viz. his four oinochoai in Boston (Caskey, *op. cit.* pl. 18). The moulding of the foot of our oinochoe (Fig.

1) is very nearly identical with that of Boston 13.191.

10. Red-figured oinochoe: shape 3 (*chous*). Pl. 26.

P 21866. H. to handle 0.178 m.; D. as restored 0.135 m. Missing part of the lip and about half the body.

Echinus foot, its inner face slightly convex. Tall body. Handle ridged in lower half, segmental in upper; rooted in body and lip.

Of the figured scene there are remains of only the lower and the right-hand border: the former consists of stopped meander and cross squares; the latter is a plain reserved line. On one side of the vase the glaze is good black; on the other it is dull, mottled with red, and partly worn. Interior thinly glazed. Entire underside of foot and floor reserved; its surface is finely finished.

It seems reasonably certain that no alien fragment has been inserted in this restoration, and that each fragment occupies its proper place. The figure scene, therefore, must have been unusually narrow, and placed unusually high. For a similar arrangement cf. G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leyden, 1951, p. 188, no. 961 bis and fig. 373, there dated to about 450 B.C.

Scraps from several other red-figured choes were noted in the well.

11. Red-figured skyphos, type A. Pl. 26.

P 21348. H. 0.143 m.; D. of rim as restored 0.175 m.; of foot 0.115 m. Missing one handle, a small part of the base, and about half the wall and rim.

Rounded ring foot, with convex inner face; resting-surface and underside of floor reserved; at the center of the underside a small glazed circle and perhaps once also a dot—the surface it would have occupied is now chipped.

A. A woman dressed in chiton and himation stands facing right, holding out a flute case toward a man who wears a himation and leans on a stick. His head and the upper part of his

body are missing. The woman's hair is short, and about it she wears an ivy wreath, indicated in applied color which is now very dim. It may appear from the photograph that the corner of the lower eyelid turns down; actually it is the prolongation of the line of the pupil that produces this effect.

Relief contours for the woman's face, throat and hand.

B. Again, two figures. Of the one on the left there remains only a tiny scrap, perhaps from the back of the himation but at any rate about the level of the hips. Facing this figure, on the right, is a woman wearing chiton and himation: her head and the front of her body are missing.

Reserved ground-line; a reserved groove at the outer junction of wall and foot.

12. Red-figured kantharos. Pl. 27.

P 21376. Pres. H. 0.075 m.; D. at rim 0.109 m. One fragment preserves about half the upper part of the bowl and a bit of the adjacent portion of the lower, also one handle and a trace of the upper root of the other.

The shape was either type B, or sessile with low handles; cf. respectively *CVA*, British Museum, fasc. 4, III I c, pls. 34, 3 and 32, 17. The lower handle-root is set unusually high, almost entirely in the upper member of the bowl.

A satyr runs right holding a thyrsos in his left hand. Relief contours for both thighs, the upper arms, and the back, chest, and stomach. The spirit is that of the Sotades Painter but the execution is more summary than his. Note, however, the rendering of the thyrsos: black leaves on a reserved ground, with large leaves in the central row, and dots along the outside, and compare the thyrsos on the kantharos by the Sotades Painter in Goluchow, J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, pls. 15-16 (*ARV*, p. 451, 6).

13. Red-figured stemless cup. Pl. 27.

P 21347. Diameter of foot 0.037 m. One fragment preserves more than half the low ring foot and part of the floor.

The outer face of the foot tapers, the inner is convex; resting surface and underside of floor reserved. The handle space was apparently also reserved.

In the tondo, a satyr, moving or about to move left, but looking back right. On the ground at the left, the pointed end of a drinking horn. Relief contour only for the torso. The border is a meander pattern.

Here as in No. 12, there is the spirit of the Sotades Painter: for the stance compare again the Goluchow kantharos. But here too the anatomy is rendered much more simply. The shape was a favorite among those artists who worked in the manner of the Sotades Painter (*ARV*, pp. 452-457).

14. Wall fragment of red-figured cup. Pl. 27.

P 21861. Max. dim. 0.078 m.

The outside preserves the middle part of the body of a draped male figure facing left, part of the staff on which he leans, and, behind him, some of the handle ornament. Nothing remains of the medallion inside.

Relief contours for the floral ornament only, but not, however, for its detached elements.

15. Red-figured lekythos. Pl. 25.

P 21356. Pres. H. 0.055 m. A single fragment from the body preserves the figure of a woman from the waist down.

She wears chiton and himation and runs left, holding in her right hand what may have been a torch: the end that protrudes from her hand bears three strokes of dilute glaze, apparently to indicate a wrapping of some sort. A reserved ground line; no relief contours. Compare a lekythos by the Seireniske Painter in Cairo (C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Greek Vases*, Cairo, 1911, pl. 12, 26. 208; *ARV*, p. 487, 50).

16. Fragmentary red-figured squat lekythos (?). Pl. 27.

P 22050. a) Pres. H. 0.09 m.; D. of base 0.145 m. Four joining fragments preserve most of the base and a small part of the walls of a closed vessel. b) Pres. H. 0.07 m. Four joining fragments preserve part of the neck and shoulder, including a handle root.

The association of a) and b) seems probable, but cannot be regarded as certain.

Ring foot, spreading above, rounded below; sloping inner face. Round body; flattish shoulder; narrow neck. Handle rooted above in base of neck.

Of the figure scene parts are preserved of the upper and lower borders, together with the left leg and part of the himation of a man who runs right. No relief contours. The lower border consists of stopped meander punctuated by a cross square. The upper border is an egg and dot pattern. A low ridge separates it from the shoulder above.

Soft buff clay. Black glaze, partly fired red. The interior and the undersurface are unglazed.

17. Skyphos, type B (glaux). Pl. 27 and Fig. 2.

P 21862. Pres. H. 0.032 m.; D. of foot 0.062 m. Missing all but the base and the start of the walls.

Ring foot, rounded on the outside, convex on the inside; for its profile see Fig. 2. The feet and tail feathers of both owls are preserved, and parts of the olive branches. Relief lines only for inner details. The resting surface and the underside of the floor are reserved; the inner face of the foot is glazed.

A good selection of whole examples of this well known class is published in *CVA*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Band 1), pl. 44, and references to the pertinent literature will be found in the accompanying text, p. 35.

18. Black-figured cup. Pl. 28.

P 21863 a and b. a) Pres. H. 0.052 m.; D. of foot 0.08 m.; b) max. dim. 0.117 m. Two

fragments, mended from four, preserve the foot, the stem, and part of the bowl.

The stem spreads broadly into the foot, the outer edge of which is slightly concave; within the resting surface the inner face rises gently toward the hollow of the stem. In the tondo, a Nike, her knees bent as in flight. Her body is preserved from the waist down, also the ends of her wings. She wears a chiton with overfold. Incised lines for feathers and for folds of garment. The tondo is bounded by two narrow reserved bands.

On the exterior a group of three figures: a draped figure stands facing right toward an armed duel; the left-hand combatant strides right, wielding either sword or spear, and carrying a shield or an animal's skin; his opponent falls back right. Crude incision for folds of clothing and for some anatomical details. Reserved bands around the bottom.

The glaze has fired variously from red to black, usually with a brownish cast. The outer edge of the foot is reserved and reddened; some chips are observable here that existed before the red wash was applied. The resting surface of the foot is reserved, the inner face glazed, and the hollow of the stem reserved.

19. Black-figured cup fragment. Pl. 28.

P 21864. Pres. H. 0.05 m.; max. dim. 0.135 m. A single fragment preserves part of the bowl and the start of the stem.

Of the figure scenes on the exterior one is missing completely; of the other there remain the lower parts of two figures, one draped, the other nude, apparently in combat; possibly Athena and a giant. To the left and right are bits of palmette ornament; some careless incision; a reserved band beneath the figure scene. The glaze has fired black to brown. The underside of the foot is reserved and bears a glazed dot and circle. The interior of the stem is in black glaze, with the exception of a narrow reserved band at its junction with the foot. Extant exterior wholly glazed. This fragment almost certainly came from a short-stemmed

cup like the one illustrated in *CVA*, University of California, fasc. 1, pl. XVIII, 2. There is an example also at the Agora, P 15009, from a deposit dated 500-470 B.C.

20. Black-figured fragment. Pl. 28.

P 21865. Max. dim. 0.064 m.

A single fragment, perhaps from the shoulder of an oinochoe, preserves part of a satyr who moves right and looks back left. There are strokes of applied color: two on his hair, the upper white and the lower red, and another (red) on his beard. Crude incision. On the left edge of the fragment, opposite the satyr's head, is a bit of black glaze, possibly the outstretched hand of another figure. Interior thinly glazed. On the reserved portions of the exterior a lustrous wash of dilute glaze.

21. Black-figured pattern lekythos. Pl. 28.

P 21362. Pres. H. 0.145 m.; D. at shoulder 0.05 m. Missing the foot.

On the shoulder, a double row of rays. On the body, on a white ground, an ivy pattern, bounded above and below by lattice work; two reserved bands below the pattern zone. Black glaze, partly fired reddish-brown and worn, on the mouth (except its flat upper surface), the back of the handle, and the base. Remains of red wash on shoulder and neck. The black glaze of the pattern zone has largely worn off, so also the white ground, leaving the surface a pale cream color.

No. 21 resembles the pattern lekythoi of the Beldam workshop (C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, pp. 181-182, 187). "The Beldam pattern-lekythoi must have begun about 470, and gone on at least till the middle of the century." (*op. cit.* p. 187). There are examples also at the Agora from deposits later than the middle of the century, e. g. P 2284, from the third quarter (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 476, fig. 1, no. 7; p. 480, fig. 4 and p. 500). P 2284 is taller than ours, with a slighter body and a thicker neck. Also from deposits of the third quarter of the century:

P 5275, P 5285, and P 6527; and from a deposit of the end of the century, P 16962.

22. *Black-figured palmette lekythos.* Pl. 28.

P 21346. Pres. H. 0.12 m.; D. at shoulder 0.054 m. Missing mouth, handle, and foot.

On the shoulder, a double row of rays. On the body, on a white ground, upright palmettes. Two reserved bands below the palmette zone. Palmettes and white ground are both largely worn away.

For a well preserved example in the same style as ours, see *CVA*, San Francisco, fasc. 1, p. 33 and pl. 12, 3. Our lekythos shows on the shoulder and neck the same "high gloss and deeper brown" as the lekythos in San Francisco.

On palmette lekythoi generally, see Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

There were fragments in the well of at least ten more lekythoi. In some, the bodies are plain black. The shoulder fragments show usually a double row of rays, but two have an inner row of short rays with crude palmettes outside. Besides these there were two small red-figured scraps, apparently from separate lekythoi.

23. *Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type.* Pl. 29.

P 21888. H. 0.10 m.; est. D. of rim 0.14 m.; D. of foot 0.066 m. Missing one handle and about half of wall and rim.

Low spreading foot, with sharp outer edge. In the extant handle the right root is higher than the left. There is a reserved zone around the body just above the foot, containing single-line rays. Also reserved are the following: a narrow band around the inside of the lip; the inside of the handles and the handle-zone; the underside of the floor, which bears two glazed circles and a dot. There are two bands in applied red around the body just below the handles.

The glaze for the most part is good, but has faded to a dull brown and peeled slightly in a band of irregular width around the upper part of the outside.

24. *Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type.* Pl. 29.

P 21890. H. 0.092 m.; est. D. of rim 0.11 m.; D. of foot 0.066 m. Missing both handles (save for the roots of one), and about a third of the wall and rim.

There is a plain reserved zone around the lower part of the body, including also the upper part of the foot. In other respects the decoration is the same as that of No. 23.

The glaze on the lower two-thirds of the exterior is a dull brown, on the upper third good black—the result of stacking. There is a sharp line of division between the two areas.

25. *Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type.* Pl. 29 and Fig. 2.

P 21891. H. 0.09 m.; D. of rim 0.11 m.; of foot 0.063 m. Missing one handle and about a third of the wall and rim.

In the extant handle the right root is slightly higher than the left.

The underside of the floor is reserved and bears two glazed circles and a dot. There is a narrow reserved band around the outer edge of the resting surface. Otherwise the skyphos is glazed all over. There are no bands of applied red.

26. *Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type.* Pl. 29.

P 21892. H. 0.065 m.; est. D. of rim 0.07 m.; D. of foot 0.048 m. Missing one handle, and about half the wall and rim; of the other handle only the roots remain.

Like the preceding, but much smaller: its capacity is less than a third of that of No. 25.

The skyphoi of Corinthian type from the well exhibit three familiar schemes of decoration (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 506). The essential distinction exists in the area around the lower part of the body. Group 1 has here a reserved zone containing single line rays. In Group 2 this space is wholly reserved (in the published example, No. 24, the reserved area includes also the upper part of the foot, but this is unusual).

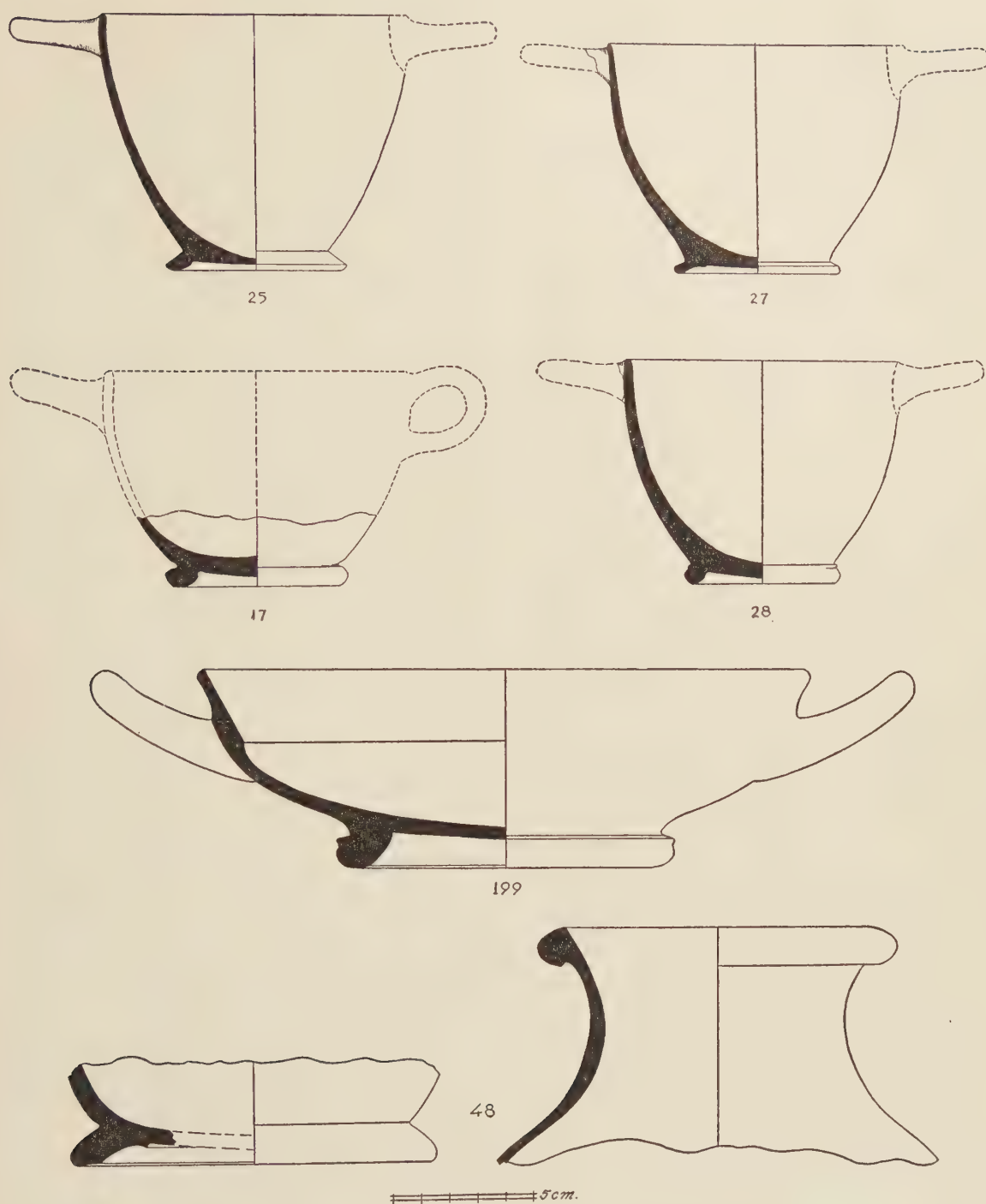


FIG. 2. No. 17 Red-figured Glaux, Nos. 25, 27, 28 Black-glazed Skyphoi, No. 48 Fragments of Black-glazed Pelike, No. 199 Black-glazed Stemless Cup.

Group 3 is glazed all over, with the exception of the underside of the floor and occasionally also the outer edge of the resting surface of the foot. In all three types red wash was commonly applied to all the reserved areas.

Of Group 1, represented here by No. 23, there were fragments in the well of at least 18; of Group 2, No. 24, at least 10; and of Group 3, Nos. 25 and 26, at least 11. This shape is clearly the most popular among the various drinking cups present in the well, making up, as it does, about a third of the total number of cups of all types.

Remarks on the chronological development of the shape will be found in the passage just cited in *Hesperia*, and again in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 340-1; VI, 1937, pp. 273-4; and XVIII, 1949, pp. 319-20. The present examples fall naturally into the place appropriate to the middle of the fifth century. Their profiles are a good deal like those of the skyphoi from the well of the third quarter of the century published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 505-6. In some of the later examples, however, the handles, by comparison with ours, seem fragile; the foot also is commonly less substantial. For the contraction of the wall at the foot in the later skyphoi contrast No. 25 from this well with no. 26 of the later well, *ibid.*, p. 506, fig. 23, or with *Hesperia* XVIII, 1949, p. 320, fig. 2.

The proportion of the diameter of base to height is here roughly two to three, except in No. 26, which is unusually small (though not a miniature): there the proportion is three to four.

At the opposite extreme in size is a fragmentary skyphos (uncatalogued) with single-line rays, the diameter of whose base measures 0.096 m., or exactly twice that of No. 26.

27. Black-glazed skyphos. Pl. 29 and Fig. 2.

P 21893. H. as restored 0.084 m.; D. of rim as restored 0.107 m.; D. of base 0.06 m. Missing most of the rim, and over half the wall; one handle-root is preserved.

Low foot in two degrees, the upper spreading, the lower convex; a narrow flat resting surface; the inner face is broad and concave, and is offset neatly from the underside of the floor. Glazed all over, except for the resting-surface of the foot and the underside of the floor: the latter bears two glazed circles and a dot. A fragment was noted of one other skyphos with a similar foot.

No. 27 has some points in common with both the Corinthian type and type B (glaux), but its unusual foot marks it off from each. In skyphoi of Corinthian type there is no distinction, as here, between the resting-surface and the inner face of the foot, the two making up one continuous convex curve. In No. 17 on the other hand, a type B skyphos from this well, the foot is stout, and both inner and outer faces are convex. The wall of No. 27 bulges somewhat in the manner of type B skyphoi, but unlike them it has a double curve, becoming concave as it nears the foot.

The glaze is excellent and uniform, and the inner face of the foot is finely moulded. The glazed concave moulding found here is discussed by Corbett in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 301 (see especially note 12). It occurs earlier than he believed, however, e.g. in P 10751, a semi-glazed one-handler from an Agora deposit of the early fifth century, in addition to the examples from this well. For the same moulding, unglazed, cf. No. 48, Fig. 2.

No. 27 may be taken as a conscious variation from the accepted repertoire of shapes. It seems clear that an elegant variation was intended, and, so far as one can judge, was actually achieved.

28 Black-glazed skyphos. Pl. 29 and Fig. 2.

P 22054. H. 0.08 m.; D. of rim as restored 0.098 m.; D. of foot 0.056 m. Missing about a third, including both handles; the position of one handle-root is indicated.

Rounded ring foot, higher on one side than on the other; flat resting surface; inner face convex. Black glaze, largely fired red, especially

on the inside, and partly worn. The extant portions are glazed all over, except for the resting surface and underside of floor; the latter bears at its center a small circle and dot.

This skyphos, like No. 27, is another variant, combining features of two separate types: its foot resembles that of the type A skyphos; its profile is like that of the Corinthian type.

29. *Black-glazed skyphos, type A.* Pl. 29.

P 21377. H. 0.143 m.; D. of rim 0.177 m.; of foot 0.12 m. Missing only a small fragment of the wall and a few chips.

In each of the handles the right root is somewhat higher than the left, and the handles appear twisted or lopsided, perhaps the consequence of "careless handling before firing" (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 317).

Underside of floor reserved, with three glazed circles and a dot. Glaze unevenly fired and partly worn; remains of red pigment inside at the bottom.

30. *Black-glazed skyphos, type A.* Pl. 29.

P 21894. H. 0.089 m.; estimated D. of rim 0.11 m.; D. of foot 0.075 m. Missing both handles and about half of wall and rim.

On the reserved underside of the floor there is a large incised circle and a small glazed circle and dot. Glaze unevenly fired, and partly peeled and worn.

There were fragments in the well of not less than 30 other skyphoi of this shape, some of which were figured, cf. No. 11. It stands next in popularity after the skyphos of Corinthian type. The two examples described here illustrate the two extremes of size. Red wash is regularly applied to the reserved underside of the floor, and there is often, but not invariably, a reserved groove at the junction of body and foot. The development of the shape is discussed in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 340-1 and XVIII, 1949, p. 317. For further remarks thereon and for a fine series of illustrations see H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewismaler*, Leipzig, 1939.

31. *Black-glazed skyphos.* Pl. 29.

P 21895. H. 0.073 m.; D. of rim, as restored, 0.10 m. About half preserved, including the base, one handle, and part of the rim.

Spreading foot, roughly scored along the outside, as if from careless potting; resting surface and inner face of foot continuous but irregular, varying from convex to sloping; underside of floor convex.

Rim flat on top, projecting outwards. Horizontal strap handles, rooted in the shoulder and uptilted.

Along the fractures the fabric is usually a greenish gray. The glaze has fired variously dull gray, dark brown, and red, and some has peeled. Reserved: the top of the rim, which bears glazed transverse strokes, now mostly worn off; a band around the exterior at the level of the handles; the outer edge of the resting surface; a narrow band around the inner junction of foot and floor.

This skyphos has several features that are strange in a fifth century context, viz. the level at which the reserved zone occurs, the shape of the handle, and the flat rim. There is a similar, though not identical, skyphos from an Agora deposit of the latter part of the century, P 18920. In addition to these two, the profiles of which bear a general resemblance to that of the Corinthian type, there is a third skyphos, P 17121 (No. 198 below), also from a deposit of the latter part of the fifth century, that has some points in common, e. g. the reserved zone at the handle-level, and the flat rim. No. 198, however, has the foot and general profile of a type A skyphos. Its handles, too, are heavy and rounded, like those of type A, but unlike them are set down in the reserved zone, well below the rim.

Despite their individual differences these three skyphoi form a group, the distinguishing characteristics of which are the flat, slightly projecting rim, the uptilted handles, and the reserved zone high up on the body. The origins of the group are at least as early as the seventh century. To trace back the line of descent we

may begin with the flat-bottomed skyphos, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 320 and pl. 47, no. 251, where we find all three characteristics cited above. This skyphos dates in the early fifth century, and there were several others like it in the same deposit. Similar skyphoi are known at Athens from the sixth century and also from the seventh. There are three inventoried examples at the Agora from sixth century deposits: P 13355, P 14697, and P 17843, and others have come from the north slope of the Acropolis: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 181, fig. 18 (AP 968), and p. 216, fig. 49 (AP 1086); IX, 1940, p. 252, fig. 55, no. 314. Broneer has pointed out their subgeometric character (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 216), and their forerunners in the seventh century are discussed by Rodney Young in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 413-414 (fig. 1) and 422-423, nos. D 4-5, and again in *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 43 (fig. 28), Grave 16, 1 and p. 45 (fig. 31), Grave 59, 2. In addition to the characteristics listed above, there is another that appears frequently, but not invariably, on these skyphoi, from the earliest to the latest, viz, transverse glazed strokes on the rim. It should be noted too that from early to late they are all approximately of the same size. The group of three with which we began represents the end of a long and remarkably conservative tradition. Some of its features have been retained, but the flat bottom has been superseded by a contemporary form of foot, and the profile has been altered to conform. There is, however, a flat-bottomed example, P 5455, from an Agora well, the contents of which date to the third quarter of the fifth century.

32. Black-glazed cup. Not illustrated.

P 21880. Pres. H. 0.065 m.; estimated D. of rim 0.13 m. About half complete; the foot is missing.

Hollow stem, curving without interruption into the bowl. Handle rather square across the end. Flaring rim, offset from bowl. All extant portions are glazed, except the hollow of

the stem. The glaze is often dull gray, sometimes red.

The shape is a familiar one in Agora deposits of the second quarter of the century: cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 336 ff., fig. 4; Supplement IV, p. 127, fig. 94a.

33. Foot of stemmed cup. Pl. 30.

P 21881. D. 0.063 m.

One fragment preserves the foot and an indication of the stem.

The outer edge of the foot is concave. Its inner face is gently convex, with a shallow groove around the outer circumference. The stem was apparently closed. All in black glaze.

Fragments of four or five other stemmed cups were noted, in addition to the one that follows. In our well this shape is much outnumbered by the stemless type.

34. Black-glazed cup. Pl. 30.

P 21878a and b. H. as restored 0.105 m.; D. of rim as restored 0.122 m.

a). Five joining fragments preserve about half the bowl and one handle of a round-bodied cup with flaring rim. The glaze has fired red, except for a black patch on the exterior. Much of the glaze has peeled, and the surfaces here and along the fractures are soft and wear easily.

b). One fragment from the stem, probably but not certainly from the same cup as a). At its top there is a heavy moulded ring separated from the lower part of the stem by a narrow groove. The stem spreads into the foot, the edge of which is not preserved. The hollow of the stem is tube-like and does not diminish to a cone. The groove below the moulded ring is reserved, and there is a narrow reserved border at the upper boundary of the ring. Glaze and fabric as in a).

A cup from an Agora deposit of the second half of the century, P 16535, is similar to No. 34 in having a rounded bowl, and a moulded ring at the top of the stem, but in P 16535 the bowl is deeper, the handles are heavier, and the stem is shorter. Cf. also H. Bloesch, *Formen*

Attischer Schalen, Berne, 1940, pl. 39, 2a. Examples dating from the second quarter of the fifth century were found in the North Cemetery at Corinth. The remarkable feature of No. 34 is the great height of the stem, the proportions of which may be felt to demand a larger bowl. On the other hand the similarities, between a) and b), of clay and firing are most convincing.

35. *Large black-glazed stemless cup.* Not illustrated; see below.

P 21884. Pres. H. 0.065 m.; D. of foot 0.095 m. Missing all the rim and much of the wall; a stump from one handle is preserved.

Substantial ring foot, with broad resting surface and convex inner face. Broad open bowl. Horizontal handles, uptilted. Excellent black glaze. Reserved: the handle zone; the resting surface; the underside of the floor, which bears two small circles and a dot.

There are fragments from at least half a dozen other cups or bowls in the same fabric. They show the same profile of the foot and the same quality of execution. The surfaces are finely finished; the glaze is a uniform and glossy black; the reserved areas bear a clear and even red wash. Unfortunately no rim fragments have been recognized. From an Agora deposit of the second quarter of the century, however, there are several large stemless cups that bear a close resemblance to No. 35. The profile drawing of one of these, P 19405 (see No. 199 below), is published here, Fig. 2, to suggest the original appearance of No. 35. Note, in the foot, the characteristic groove that separates the upper member from the lower, and also the broad curve of the inner face. These features are found also in a red-figured fragmentary stemless cup at the Agora, P 1873, from the group of London E 113 (*ARV*, p. 778, 3).

36. *Black-glazed stemless cup.* Pl. 29.

P 21882. H. 0.041 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.125 m.; of foot 0.049 m. About half preserved, including all the foot, one handle, and part of the rim.

Low ring foot, with narrow resting surface. The handle is rounded at the end, and rises above the level of the flaring rim, which is offset from the body. The following areas are reserved: the inside of the handle and the handle zone; a scraped groove at the outer junction of foot and body; the resting surface; the underside of the floor, which bears two thick concentric circles and a dot.

37. *Black-glazed stemless cup.* Pl. 29.

P 21883. H. 0.04 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.13 m.; of foot 0.05 m. About half preserved, including the foot, part of the rim, and the stump of one handle.

The offset rim is concave, and there is no groove at the junction of foot and body; otherwise like No. 36. On the underside the outer of the two circles is thin and faint.

Bases of a dozen other stemless cups of this type were noted from the well, in addition to the red-figured example No. 13. The foot is regularly tiny, and there is much variety in the treatment of the underside, i. e. in the number, size, and spacing of the glazed circles. For other Agora examples see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507, nos. 34-35; V, 1936, p. 339, fig. 7; XV, 1946, p. 319 and pl. 63, nos. 240-242; XVIII, 1949, p. 331 and pl. 93, no. 76; XX, 1951, p. 219 and pl. 73, no. 1. In the early fifth century these cups have a flat base; by the middle of the century this has been superseded by the ring foot.

38. *Black-glazed kantharos, sessile, with high handles.* Pl. 29.

P 21877. H. to rim 0.10 m.; D. of rim 0.13 m.; of foot 0.08 m. Missing fragments of body, rim, and handles.

Foot in two degrees, the upper spreading, the lower disk-like; flat resting surface; the inner face of the foot slopes up steeply to meet the convex underside of the floor.

The body consists of a short spreading lower wall and a slightly concave upper wall that join to form a sharp keel. From this point of junc-

tion spring the strap handles, which rise in a loop above the rim. There is an oblique cross-piece between rim and handle, and lower down, on the outside of each handle, a finger-rest. The lip is rounded toward the outside. Glazed all over, except for the following reserved areas: the lower degree of the foot; its resting-surface; and the underside of the floor, which bears two concentric glazed circles. The glaze has fired in various shades of brown, from near black to near red, and is partly peeled. The fabric is thin and hard, and the color of the clay varies between light brown and buff.

This kantharos was one of a pair, the other of which is fragmentary and has not been catalogued. In the latter the reserved areas are lightly smeared with pale brown glaze, and the scheme on the underside of the floor is a single circle and dot. The glaze is mostly black, but shows occasionally the brown cast noted in No. 38. A fragment of a base with spreading echinoid foot may be from a third kantharos: clay and glaze are very similar, and the diameter of the foot was approximately the same. Certainly it came from the same shop as the other two, and despite the peculiarities of glaze and clay it seems preferable to regard these pieces as Attic rather than to suppose them to be imported.

There are three other black-glazed kantharoi of this shape at the Agora, all smaller than No. 38. One, P 4859, from the second half of the fifth century, and unquestionably Attic, has been published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 49, and p. 51, fig. 31 d.

The others are P 16461, also from the second half of the century, and P 19995 which does not come from a datable deposit. The glaze of the latter has fired dull black, with an occasional touch of brown, and its clay is pale gray to buff. The fabric is again very thin and very hard. These are characteristics that may have been deliberately sought after, in an effort to achieve some of the effect of metal prototypes. On this point and on the shape generally, cf. L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Mu-*

seum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1931, pp. 14 ff.; and on this particular type of kantharos cf. also *CVA*, Oxford, fasc. 2, p. 109, text to pl. 52, 12.

39. *Black-glazed kantharos handle*. Not illustrated.

P 21292. Pres. H. 0.13 m. An almost complete strap handle, of the same type as that on No. 38, but larger, and with slightly raised edges. Good black glaze, partly fired red.

40. *Black-glazed kantharos handle*.

Pl. 30. P 21879. Pres. H. 0.067 m. One fragment preserves a handle and an adjacent bit of rim from a kantharos, either type B, or sessile with low handles.

Handle segmental in section; its upper root comes just below the edge of the rim, which flares slightly. Excellent black glaze. This handle has an almost exact mate on a red-figured kantharos at the Agora, P 4843 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 49, and p. 51, fig. 30).

41. *Black-glazed oinochoe, Shape 2*. Pl. 31.

P 21867. H. to lip as restored 0.15 m.; D. of base 0.07 m. Several fragments preserve the handle, most of the mouth, neck, and base, and part of the shoulder. The height has been restored on the analogy of the intact example, No. 203 (Pl. 31).

Raised base, separated from the body by a scraped groove. Bottom slightly concave. Handle cylindrical in section, extending beyond the edge of the rim to form a thumbrest. The lobes of the spout are drawn in to form sharp points at their junctions. The bottom and the scraped groove at the base are reserved. In places the glaze has peeled, leaving the exposed surfaces gray. For an example from a context later in the century see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 277, fig. 17, no. 53.

42. *Oinochoe base*. Fig. 1.

P 21868. Pres. H. 0.025 m.; D. 0.076 m. Two joining fragments preserve most of the base and the start of the wall.

High spreading foot, its outer face concave,

with a narrow groove around the lower edge; sloping inner face; no separate resting surface.

Black glaze on the exterior, except for a tiny reserved band at the junction of foot and body. Undersurface of foot and interior of body are both unpainted.

Cf. the foot of the shape 10 oinochoe, G. M. A. Richter, and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York, 1935, fig. 128.

43. Oinochoe base. Fig. 1.

P 21869. Pres. H. 0.017 m.; D. 0.057 m.

For details of the elaborate profile, see Fig. 1. The underside is reserved, and also the lowest member of the foot outside.

From a shape 1 oinochoe; cf. Richter and Milne, *op. cit.* fig. 129. There is a similar foot on a fragmentary red-figured oinochoe at the Agora, P 6507, from a deposit of the third quarter of the fifth century (*ARV*, p. 758: probably by the painter of the Edinburgh oinochoe).

44. Black-glazed oinochoe, Shape 8 (mug). Pl. 29.

P 21870. H. 0.092 m.; D. of bottom 0.073 m. Missing a few fragments from body and rim.

Flat bottom, with a small concavity at the center. At the base of the walls, outside, there is a narrow groove between flat ridges. Lightly ribbed walls. A low notched ridge at the junction of body and concave neck. Flaring rim, with edge rounded toward the outside. Flat strap handle, rooted in shoulder and rim. Glaze uniformly black. The bottom is reserved, and bears at its center a dot enclosed by two circles, the inner a thin line, the outer a thick band.

45. Black-glazed oinochoe, Shape 8 (mug). Pl. 29.

P 21350. H. as restored 0.093 m.; D. of bottom 0.07 m. About one third preserved, including most of the bottom, the handle, and fragments of the rim and wall.

Flat bottom. A narrow groove around the

base of the walls outside. Broad ribs, carefully made, closed at the top by half-circles. Rim as in No. 44. Double handle, its sections rounded. Excellent glaze, in places slightly worn. Bottom fully reserved, also the groove at the base.

This shape has been discussed in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 508-9, nos. 50-52; VI, 1937, p. 280, nos. 55-60; XVIII, 1949, pp. 332-3, nos. 79-81. Two points are to be noted in respect to Nos. 44 and 45: the presence of a strap handle (instead of the normal double handle) in the first, and in the second the absence of the rope-like moulding at the junction of body and neck. These are the earliest ribbed mugs thus far known from Agora deposits.

Fragments were noted of at least three or four others.

46. Black-glazed olpe. Pl. 31.

P 21872. H. as restored 0.127 m.; D. of rim 0.045 m. Missing the lower half of the body and the same portion of the handle.

Round mouth. Flaring rim, rounded toward the outside. Concave neck, opening into narrow body. Handle segmental in section, rooted in body and rim, and rising slightly above the level of the latter. Thin fabric. Dull black glaze on all extant exterior and on the interior of the mouth; the rim has worn bare. Fragments were noted of at least ten others.

No. 46 has been restored on the analogy of P 10819 (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 127, fig. 94, c), an example from earlier in the century. The shape is common in the sixth and fifth centuries: cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 476, fig. 1, no. 59, and p. 510, nos. 59-62; XV, 1946, pp. 323-324 and pl. 66, no. 272. By the time of our well these olpai no longer bear bands of applied red. No. 46 is restored with a plain bottom, but the fragments from the well support the view that by mid-century a raised base was commoner. It is perhaps an olpe like this that is shown hanging on the wall in a scene on a cup in the Fogg Museum (*CVA*, U. S. A. fasc. 8, Fogg Museum, III I, pl. 19, 2).

47. *Black-glazed globular lekythos*. Pl. 31.

P 21871. H. 0.212 m.; D. of body 0.177 m.; of foot 0.108 m. Missing a few fragments of the body.

Spreading ring foot, its lower edge bevelled; broad flat resting-surface; the inner face slopes up to the underside of the floor, which is convex. Well-rounded body. Narrow neck continuous with plain flaring rim, rounded on top. Drip-ring at base of neck. Strap handle, with raised edges, rooted in shoulder and base of neck, ending there below the level of the drip-ring. Pale buff clay. Black glaze on all the exterior except the bottom, and on the interior of the mouth and neck. The glaze is variously thin, worn, peeled, and mottled with red; where it has peeled, the exposed surfaces are gray. Two bands of applied color around the body just below the level of the handle.

The well contained fragments also of two smaller examples.

The shape is discussed by Miss C. H. E. Haspels in her *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, pp. 3-6. She lists nine black-glazed examples (*op. cit.* 4-5, nos. 17-25), and for all of them, including one from Olynthos, she implies a date in the sixth century. It is clear, however, that the shape persisted at least through the fifth. Besides the three from this well, there are 12 others from dated Agora deposits ranging from the beginning of the century to its end. Their distribution is as follows: from the first quarter, P 8838, P 14668, P 16038; from the second quarter, P 10820; from the third quarter, P 2332 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 509, fig. 24, no. 56); from 450-400, P 16454, P 16546, and two uncatalogued examples; from the last quarter, P 9222, P 10002, and P 16672 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 326, no. 44). Figured here along with No. 47 are P 8838 (No. 200), from the beginning of the series, and P 10002 (No. 201) from the end. The mouth of the latter has been restored on the analogy of that of P 16672.

In the course of the century the shape dis-

plays very little change. The most significant is perhaps that which takes place in the shoulder. At the beginning of the century the shoulder slopes rather steeply, and the body, as a consequence, looks pear-shaped. Then the curve becomes gentler and the body rounder. At the end of the series the shoulder is virtually flat.

It might seem also, on the basis of the three examples assembled on Pl. 31, that there was a promising development in the profile of the neck and mouth: first convex, then straight, then a double curve, convex above, concave below. But this observation must be applied with some reserve, for the double curve occurs in an example at Rhitsona from a grave dated about 500 B.C. (*B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-08, p. 292, no. 108 and pl. 13 g, extreme right; and, for the date, p. 241). See also below on a lekythos at Corinth.

At the beginning of the series there is free use of applied color. In P 8838, in addition to the two bands around the body, there is also one around the upper edge of the drip-ring, and another around the foot. Gradually, however, this use of applied color is given up. This change can be observed also in other shapes, e. g. that represented by No. 46, the small black-glazed olpe. In P 8838 again, the drip-ring is a flat band, and the handle, at the top, is rooted *in* the drip-ring, rather than *below* it, as on all the others. The handles regularly have raised edges. The drip-ring is normally rounded.

In the presence of this series from the fifth century, the occurrence of a globular lekythos at Olynthos in a grave with a vase of the fourth century now becomes less remarkable than it seemed at the time of Miss Haspels' study (cf. *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 5, note 2). The Olynthian example, however, to judge from the published illustration (D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* V, Baltimore, 1933, pl. 168, no. 743) would fit more comfortably into the middle of our series than the end. There are other vases from Olynthos that

better satisfy our expectations of the stage of development the shape may have reached in the fourth century, e. g. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XIII, Baltimore, 1950, pl. 161, nos. 315 and 320. And two pieces from Agora deposits of the mid-fourth century, P 12702 (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 280, n. 38) and P 14637 are probably also descendants of this line.

To the list of earlier examples we may add two in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens, one in the museum at Corinth, and one found at Nora in Sardinia (*Mon. Ant.*, XIV, 1904, col. 215, fig. 49).

The lekythos fragment from the Agora, P 16673, published in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 326, no. 45, is, as there stated, similar to P 16672 in the list above, but belongs to a different type, either squat, as suggested in the publication, or elongated. Its shoulder is different from that of the contemporary globular type, it lacks a true drip-ring, and its handle is flat.

The lekythos at Corinth comes from the North Cemetery, Grave 429, and has certain features that, so far as I am aware, are unique: the profile of its rim and neck is a triple curve and the rim, moreover, is flat on top rather than rounded. It adds a warning against attempting to force the series into too rigid a typological scheme. A similar shape exists in the Corinthian repertory, e. g. one from Grave 36 of the North Cemetery and two (MP 165-166) from the box of antiquities of which a selection was published by Lucy Shoe in *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 56-89. The Corinthian version has a flat bottom. It may be noted that the shape is not too far removed from that of the Corinthian globular oinochoe: cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 287-288, no. 126; Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, p. 337, no. 1552 B. These also have flat bottoms.

48. *Black-glazed pelike*. Fig. 2.

P 21873 a and b.

a). Est. D. of rim 0.13 m. Several non-

joining fragments from rim, neck, body and handle. Rounded torus rim. Handle segmental in section. Black glaze, mostly good but sometimes gray and partly peeled, on all the exterior and on the interior of the neck. Interior of body thinly glazed, black to brown. Thin walls, occasionally less than 0.003 m. in thickness.

b). Est. D. of base 0.13 m. One fragment from the bottom of a partly closed vessel, probably a pelike, generally similar in clay and glaze to a), but with thicker walls. Echinus foot; its inner face is a broad and finely finished concave moulding. The whole underside is reserved and carefully reddened.

49. *Black-glazed lidded pelike*. Pl. 31.

P 21874. Pres. H. 0.11 m.; D. of rim 0.09 m. Several fragments preserve rim, neck, both handles and part of the shoulder. Rim flanged for lid. Handles segmental in section. Glaze applied as in No. 48 a.

50. *Black-glazed psykter*. Pl. 30.

P 21875. Pres. H. 0.057 m.; D. of base 0.083 m. Two fragments preserve the base and part of the stem.

The base is convex and spreading. At the center of the underside is a moulded ring enclosing a rounded nub.

The stem, just above the base, is surrounded by a low collar.

Glazed inside and out, except for the bottom, which is reserved.

A fragment from one other psykter was noted.

On the shape cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 322. So far as the evidence for its history is now known, these fragments would appear to be considerably earlier than the balance of the pottery from the well.

51. *Black-glazed plate*. Fig. 3.

P 21398. H. 0.037 m.; D. as restored 0.206 m. Two joining fragments preserve more than half; profile complete except at center of floor.

For details of the shape see the profile drawing. Glazed all over; the glaze is partly worn

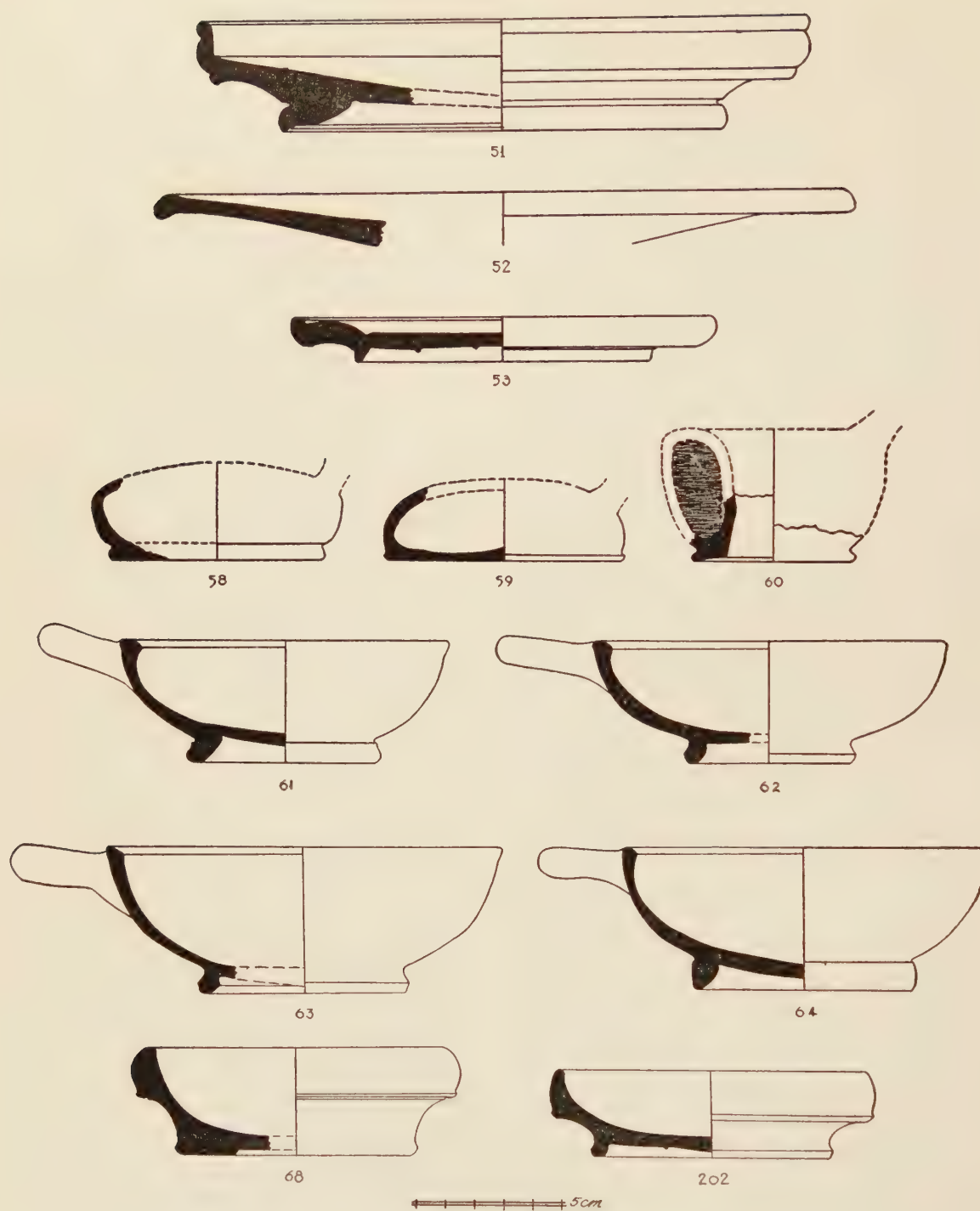


FIG. 3. Nos. 51-53 Plates, glazed and unglazed, Nos. 58-60 Black-glazed Askoi, Nos. 61-64 One-handlers, Nos. 68, 202 Black-glazed Bowls.

off, and, on the inside, partly fired red, apparently as the result of stacking.

The vertical rim, and the broad convex moulding that constitutes the inner face of the foot, distinguish this plate both from earlier and later examples. For the former cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 64; for the latter, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 325, fig. 3.

52. Black-glazed plate. Fig. 3.

P 21913. Est. D. of rim 0.23 m. Five joining fragments preserve part of the rim and floor, up to the edge of the foot, which is missing.

Floor slopes toward center. Rim rounded and thickened. Black glaze, on the underside mostly fired red. The outside of the rim is reserved, and bears an egg and dot pattern in black glaze.

53. Unglazed plate. Fig. 3.

P 21369. H. 0.015 m.; D. 0.145 m. Two joining fragments preserve more than half.

For details of the shape see the profile drawing. Buff clay, finely finished. There is a close parallel at the Agora in P 4863, from a deposit of the second half of the century: see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 325, fig. 4, no. 152.

54. Black-glazed lid. Not illustrated.

P 21910. Pres. H. 0.023 m.; D. 0.23 m. Missing about half, including the knob.

Flat lid, rounded at the edge to form a plain rim. A low flat band around the root of the knob. Glazed all over.

55. Black-glazed lid. Not illustrated.

P 21911. Pres. H. 0.032 m.; D. 0.143 m. Missing about half, including the knob.

Domed lid, rounded at the edge to form a plain rim. Two reserved bands on the exterior, a narrow one encircling the lid halfway between knob and rim, a broader one around the top of the rim. Interior wholly reserved.

56. Black-glazed lid. Not illustrated.

P 21912. Pres. H. 0.04 m.; D. of knob 0.031 m. Four fragments preserve the knob

and a small adjacent part of the lid; none of the rim is extant.

Domed lid. The knob consists of a short stem and a disk top; the latter is slightly thickened and rounded at its upper edge, and its upper surface is slightly concave. The knob, at its base, is enclosed by a low moulded band. Interior reserved. Extant exterior of lid in black glaze. The sides of the disk are glazed, otherwise the knob is reserved. The base of its stem is encircled by a band of applied red.

Fragments of at least four other lids were noted. One of these, in buff clay, with yellowish-buff outer surface, is stepped, and probably belonged to a Corinthian lekanis (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 336, fig. 186).

57. Black-glazed kothon. Pl. 30 and Fig. 1.

P 21361. H. 0.067 m.; D. 0.148 m. Missing a few fragments from the wall and rim.

For details of the shape, see the profile drawing. A plain ribbon handle without spurs. Dull glaze, partly fired greenish gray, partly peeled and chipped. Reserved: the underside of foot and floor, and that portion of the interior that is concealed by the overhanging rim.

For the literature on kothons, see Hopper, in *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 231.

58. Black-glazed askos, Type 1. Fig. 3.

P 21917. Pres. H. 0.03 m.; est. D. of base 0.08 m. One fragment preserves a small part of the base and wall.

Low ring foot; flat bottom. The wall is rather angular in profile. Good black glaze outside; thin glaze inside, not covering all the surface. Bottom reserved.

59. Black-glazed askos, Type 1. Fig. 3.

P 21916. Pres. H. 0.024 m.; est. D. of base 0.09 m. One fragment preserves part of base and wall, including the trace of a handle-root.

The bottom projects a bit beyond the wall to suggest a foot. The line of the wall is a continuous convex curve. Interior thinly glazed. Bottom reserved. Soft, yellowish buff clay.

Type 1 askoi, both black-glazed and red-figured, occur frequently in Agora deposits of the second half of the fifth century, but there are none at the Agora earlier than Nos. 58 and 59; cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 478, fig. 2, and p. 499, no. 3; XVIII, 1949, p. 317, and pls. 84-85, no. 19; p. 320, nos. 29-30. Normally the wall bulges more or less in the manner of No. 58; the curve of No. 59 is unusual. On the shape and its origins see Beazley, in *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 325 ff.

60. *Black-glazed askos, Type 2.* Fig. 3.

P 21918. Pres. H. 0.024 m.; D. of foot 0.056 m. One fragment preserves the base and the start of the walls.

Low spreading foot. Wide central tube. Thin glaze on the interior. The resting surface is reserved.

This type of askos, pierced vertically by a central tube, occurs in Agora contexts of the fifth century both earlier and later than our well and always in black-glaze. No chronological development is apparent. Two of the earlier examples have already been published: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 341, fig. 9, P 5152; Supplement IV, p. 127, fig. 94, f. No. 60 is remarkable for the size of its central tube, the diameter of which, at the base, is 0.032 m. The normal dimension here is between 0.015 and 0.02 m. In the Piraeus Museum there is a type 2 askos with a central tube that also measures 0.032 m. across the bottom. The diameter of its foot is 0.055 m. and its height is 0.051 m. On the other hand, an Agora example from early in the century, P 16027, has a tube that is only 0.009 m. in diameter. A fragment of another type 2 askos was noted in the well, with a tube of normal size.

61. *Black-glazed one-handler.* Fig. 3.

P 21357. H. 0.043 m.; D. 0.115 m. Missing only a few scraps of the wall.

For the shape of the foot see Fig. 3. Rim somewhat rounded on top. Stubby handle, slightly uptilted.

Glazed all over except the resting surface and a band around the underside of the floor next to the foot. The glaze has fired red and black: bright red on the inside and on the lower part of the outside, as if from stacking; mottled red to black on the upper part of the outside, including rim and handle. Both red and black are considerably peeled, and the handle is worn.

62. *Black-glazed one-handler.* Fig. 3.

P 21885. H. 0.043 m.; D. 0.119 m. Missing a small part of wall and rim, and a fragment of the floor.

Ring foot, with angular profile; its inner face is convex. Rounded handle, very slightly uptilted. Glazed all over, except the resting surface and the underside of the floor; on the latter are the partial remains of an incised letter, perhaps a *chi*. The glaze has fired dull black to gray; on the interior it is thinly applied; in places, it has peeled.

63. *Black-glazed one-handler.* Fig. 3.

P 21886. H. 0.053 m.; est. D. of rim 0.14 m. About one-third preserved, including the handle and the complete profile. For the shape see the profile drawing. The left handle-root is higher than the right. Poor thin glaze, dull black to brown, apparently applied by dipping: it does not cover the foot nor the lower part of the walls.

Fragments were noted of at least four other black-glazed one-handlers. For Agora examples from other deposits see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 476, fig. 1, nos. 37 and 44, and pp. 507-508; XVIII, 1949, pp. 330-331, and pl. 93. On the name of the shape cf. R. M. Cook, in *Classical Review*, LXV, 1951, p. 9.

64. *Partly-glazed one-handler.* Fig. 3.

P 21887. H. 0.051 m.; D. 0.123 m. Missing the handle and much of the wall and rim; a trace is preserved of a handle-root.

For the shape see the profile drawing. Black glaze over all the foot and the underside of the floor; on the resting-surface it has mostly

worn off. The wall outside is reserved, and bears a broad glazed band half way up. The rim and the interior are glazed, except for a reserved circular space at the bottom; this bears a glazed circle near its outside, and at its center another glazed circle and dot. Fragments were noted from several other partly-glazed one-handlers. They occur in Agora deposits from the end of the sixth century through the fifth. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, P 5139; Supplement IV, p. 38, fig. 30a and p. 127, fig. 94 d; XV, 1946, p. 320 and pl. 64, no. 252.

65. *Black-glazed lekanis*. Pl. 30.

P 21351. H. 0.055 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.15 m. Missing both handles, except a spur from one and the start of a handle-root, much of the rim and part of the body.

Spreading ring foot; narrow resting surface; inner face broad, steep, and slightly convex. Glaze mostly good, partly streaked with red. Reserved: the outside of the flanged rim; the resting surface; the underside of the floor, which bears a glazed dot and circle. In earlier lekanides the foot is high and conical, and No. 65 clearly retains something of this characteristic. For a sixth century example cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 181, fig. 18 (A.P. 951). See also on this shape *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 220, no. 6.

66. *Black-glazed bowl*. Pl. 30.

P 21363. H. 0.11 m.; D. of rim 0.28 m. Missing one handle and about a third of wall and rim.

Thick ring foot. Flattish rim, projecting toward the outside. Horizontal handles, circular in section, uptilted. Reserved: the inside of the handles, the handle-zone, and the resting surface. The surface of the bowl is not well finished; the glaze looks fresh, but seems to have been hastily applied. No. 66 is nearly as large as P 10577 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 327-328 and pl. 93, no. 57). Unlike the latter it shows few signs of wear.

67. *Black-glazed bowl*. Pl. 29.

P 21901. H. 0.048 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.125 m. One fragment preserves less than half.

Ring foot, ridged around the middle; narrow resting surface; the inner face slopes up steeply to the underside of the floor. Incurving rim, rounded at the edge. Glaze uniformly black. Reserved: a band at the outer junction of wall and foot; the resting surface and the lower edge of the foot outside; a border around the underside of the floor.

Fragments were counted of at least a dozen other vases, either bowls or one-handlers, generally similar to No. 67, both in size and execution.

68. *Black-glazed bowl*. Pl. 29 and Fig. 3.

P 21368. H. 0.037 m.; D. 0.115 m. Missing about a third.

For the shape see the profile drawing. Good glaze, somewhat worn; the resting surface and the underside of the floor are reserved. Fragments were noted of three others. No. 68 has several parallels at the Agora, all from the second half of the century. In these, the resting surface is usually narrow, as in No. 202 (Fig. 3), from a deposit of the third quarter of the century. The largest of the Agora examples is published in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 325, fig. 4, and p. 343, no. 151.

69. *Small black-glazed bowl*. Pl. 29.

P 21902. H. 0.04 m.; D. of rim 0.082 m. Missing about half.

Slightly spreading foot, its outer and inner faces convex. Rim rounded at the edge. Glaze partly peeled and faded. Reserved: the resting surface; a narrow band around the inner face of the foot at its junction with the floor; perhaps also the underside of the floor.

70. *Small black-glazed bowl*. Pl. 29.

P 21903. H. 0.022 m.; D. of rim 0.072 m. Three fragments preserve almost all the original.

Ring foot, its inner face shallow and convex. Thick walls. Rounded rim. Inside, the glaze

is partly worn, partly chocolate in color. The resting surface and the underside of the floor are reserved; on the latter is a mutilated graffito.

Small bowls like Nos. **69** and **70** are plentiful at the Agora: cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 328, no. 62 and p. 329, fig. 5.

71. *Small black-glazed lidded bowl.* Pl. 29.

P 21906. H. 0.045 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.085 m. Missing about half the bowl and all the lid.

The outer face of the foot is in two degrees, the upper spreading, the lower concave; the inner face is convex. There is an offset band around the body, the upper edge of which served to support the lid. The glaze has fired a dull black, with streaks of gray. The resting surface and the underside of the floor are reserved.

The profile of No. **71** is repeated in two larger lidded bowls (or lekanides) at the Agora, P 7289 and P 15037, from separate deposits of the last quarter of the century. The correspondence of the feet is especially striking.

72. *Base of black-glazed bowl.* Fig. 1.

P 21908. Pres. H. 0.024 m.; D. of foot 0.083 m. Three joining fragments preserve the foot and floor.

High foot, concave outside, convex within; its rounded lower edge serves as a resting surface. Black glaze, occasionally fired reddish brown, covers all the extant portions except the resting surface, which has worn bare.

A similar, but not identical, version of this high, thin-walled foot occurs in P 7890 and P 16808, two black-glazed bowls from deposits of the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries.

73. *Base of bowl.* Fig. 1.

P 21909. Pres. H. 0.018 m.; est. D. 0.07 m. One fragment preserves about half the foot and floor.

High, slightly spreading foot; the inner face rises convexly to a moulded and profiled ring

surrounding the underside of the floor, which is convex.

Black glaze on the extant interior of the bowl, and on the outside of the foot, except for a narrow reserved band around the top. On the underside there are reserved areas as follows: a band at the lower edge of the foot; an area at the junction of foot and moulded ring; the floor within the ring—this bears three glazed circles, and presumably once had a dot.

74. *Small partly-glazed bowl.* Pl. 29.

P 21904. H. 0.038 m.; D. of rim 0.078 m. Missing a few fragments from walls and rim.

Raised rounded base; underside of floor concave. Rim rounded at the edge, slightly incurving. The clay is pale brown, and there is a thick surfacing in the same color, applied before the glaze. Reserved: the underside, and the lower half of the outside wall, which bears a narrow glazed band around its middle. In places, especially at the rim, the surface is worn and chipped. Two bases from the well, one being the graffito No. **135**, the other uncatalogued, bear some resemblance to that of No. **74** (concave bottom, pale brown clay), but are not certainly from the same shape.

There is a similar, though smaller, bowl in an Agora context of the first quarter of the century: cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 325-326, and pl. 66, no. 293.

75. *Small partly-glazed bowl.* Pl. 29.

P 21905. H. 0.028 m.; D. of rim, as restored 0.051 m. One fragment preserves about a third of the original, including the complete profile.

Flat bottom; its edge projects slightly and is bevelled, suggesting a foot. Walls convex. The edge of the rim is thin and sharp. Good black glaze on the interior. The exterior is reserved and bears a glazed band at the rim, and another, two-thirds of the way down. The bevelled edge of the foot is also glazed.

Small banded bowls (or salt-cellars), probably to be placed in the same general category as No. **75**, have been found at the Agora also

in deposits of the early and mid-fourth century, e. g. P 6161, P 6364, P 20126.

76. *Black-glazed ladle.* Pl. 30.

P 21907. H. 0.037 m.; D. 0.081 m. Missing all the handle and a small part of the bowl.

The bowl is round-bottomed, with convex walls and plain rim. Black glaze, mostly rather dull, covers all the extant portion.

For an example complete with handle see D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus V*, Baltimore, 1933, pl. 193, no. 1085. An Agora ladle, P 10082, from the last quarter of the fifth century, has a similar handle. No. **76** is a sizable household ladle, holding 120 cubic centimeters, or almost three times as much as the standard kyathos of about 45 cc. (Cf. M. Crosby, "A Silver Ladle and Strainer," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 209-216, and especially pp. 213-214).

77. *Black-glazed salt cellar.* Pl. 29.

P 21897. H. 0.026 m.; D. 0.057 m. Missing about a third.

Inset bottom, reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Convex walls. The glaze has fired dull black, with patches of gray and brown.

78. *Black-glazed salt cellar.* Pl. 29.

P 21898. H. 0.02 m.; D. 0.05 m. Missing about half.

Inset bottom. Convex walls. Glazed all over; the glaze has worn off along the resting surface.

79. *Black-glazed salt cellar.* Pl. 29.

P 21896. H. 0.028 m.; D. 0.064 m. Missing about half.

Bottom slightly concave. Convex walls. Good black glaze. The bottom is reserved, and so also is the lower edge of the walls.

80. *Black-glazed salt cellar.* Pl. 29.

P 21899. H. 0.026 m.; est. D. 0.055 m. Missing about half.

Bottom slightly concave, the floor inside rising to a point at the center. Convex walls.

Dull glaze, worn at the rim. Reserved areas as in the preceding.

81. *Black-glazed salt cellar.* Pl. 29.

P 21900. Pres. H. 0.034 m.; est. D. 0.06 m. Missing more than half.

Rounded ring foot. Thick flaring walls. The rim, which is marked off outside from the body by a tiny moulding, has a rounded outer edge and then slopes sharply toward the inside. Good black glaze, partly worn; bottom reserved.

There were fragments of at least 18 black-glazed salt cellars in this well. No. **81** (P 21900) is peculiar, and has no parallel elsewhere among Agora deposits, though it does bear some general resemblance to *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 325, pl. 66, nos. 289-291. The others, all of the type with convex walls, are more familiar. In five of them the bottoms are inset. This feature is a characteristic of the first half of the century (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 330, no. 71). In the remainder the bottoms are flat, or slightly concave. One of them, uncatalogued, is like *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 330, pl. 93, no. 69. It and one other are glazed all over. In others, as Nos. **79** and **80** above, the bottom and the lower edge of the walls are reserved, and in one the rim is also reserved. They are smaller than the examples from the first quarter of the century found in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 325, pl. 66, nos. 283-285), and the glaze is often poor. Occasionally, as in No. **79** (P 21896), the proportions are ample and the glaze is excellent.

The well contained no examples of the type that resembles a truncated cone (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 330, pl. 93, no. 71).

82. *Fragment of public measure.* Fig. 1.

P 21876. Max. dim. 0.10 m.; est. D. of base 0.21 m.

On the outside of the foot, at the bottom, a plain glazed band, brown to black; above this are reserved rounded ridges (remains of only two are preserved), separated from each other

by narrow grooves. The resting surface of the foot is broad; the inner face is low, and slopes up steeply to meet the underside of the floor. The entire bottom is reserved; its surface is smooth and finely finished. For illustrations of complete examples, cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 346, fig. 5; VII, 1938, p. 222, fig. 57.

83. *Semi-glazed stamnos*. Pl. 30.

P 21925. Max. dim. 0.125 m. Three joining fragments from the shoulder.

A broad reserved zone at the level of the handles contains a wavy horizontal line bounded above and below by a plain band. The wavy band rises at one side to encircle a handle root.

Reddish-buff clay. Dull glaze, black to brown. This fragment has a fairly close parallel at the Agora in P 16769, from the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft: see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 330, under no. 318, which is apparently non-Attic, possibly Eretrian. The clay of P 16769 is brownish, and the fabric seems harder. Another possible parallel at the Agora is the stamnos P 9630.

84. *Thymiaterion cover*. Pl. 30.

P 21915. Pres. H. 0.042 m. One fragment preserves the knob and part of the body, but nothing of the rim.

Round knob. The bell-shaped body is pierced by triangular openings, probably six in all. There is a scored groove around the body just below the openings.

Black glaze: on the knob; in a band around the body above the openings; and in at least two bands below, one narrow, the other broad. Interior reserved. On the shape, see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 326-7, nos. 300-302.

85. *Large semi-glazed krater*. Pl. 32.

P 21929. H. 0.24 m.; D. of rim 0.395 m. Missing a few fragments of the wall.

Ring foot, with convex outer face; narrow resting surface; the inner face rises in a concave curve and merges without interruption in the flat underside of the floor. Horizontal

handles, uptilted. Rounded projecting rim, ending outside below in a sharp edge.

Dull glaze, black inside, brown out, and variously faded, worn, or peeled, covers all the interior, including the upper surface of the rim, and is applied also on the exterior in single bands above and below the level of the handle-roots, and on the outside of the foot. Pale brown clay; some suggestion, on the exterior, of a surfacing in the same color. Inside where the glaze has peeled the surface is pink.

86. *Large semi-glazed krater*. Pl. 32.

P 21930. H. 0.23 m.; D. of rim 0.375 m. Missing about a quarter of the wall.

Shape and decoration as in No. 85 except that the handles show almost no upward tilt. The glaze, mostly well preserved but occasionally worn, is reddish-brown inside, and varies between bright red and dull brown outside. On the underside of the floor is incised a row of eight straight strokes.

87. *Large semi-glazed krater*. Pl. 32.

P 21931. H. 0.22 m.; D. of rim 0.365 m. Missing a few fragments from the wall and foot, and chips from the rim.

Shape and decoration as in No. 86. The glaze has fired black on the inside, pale red outside. On the outside, a surfacing in brown glaze wash.

88. *Small semi-glazed krater*. Pl. 32.

P 21932. H. 0.145 m.; D. of rim 0.30 m. Missing one handle, and fragments of wall, foot, and rim.

The extant handle is not uptilted, and the glazed band above the level of the handles is lacking; otherwise like No. 87. Glaze brown to red, now much worn and peeled.

89. *Small semi-glazed krater*. Pl. 32.

P 21933. H. 0.135 m. D. of rim 0.245 m. Missing a few fragments of wall and rim. Lacking the glazed band above the level of the handles and apparently also that on the foot; otherwise like No. 88.

90. Small semi-glazed krater. Pl. 32.

P 21934. H. 0.13 m.; D. of rim 0.245 m. Missing much of the foot, and a few fragments of the wall and rim.

Shape and decoration as in No. 88. Glaze black to brown, partly worn.

91. Small semi-glazed krater. Pl. 32.

P 21935. H. 0.13 m.; D. of rim 0.24 m. Missing a few fragments from wall, foot, and rim.

Ring foot in two degrees, the upper broad and spreading, the lower shallow and vertical; sloping inner face. Body narrows sharply toward foot. Handles uptilted. Fattish rim, projecting toward the outside. Glaze almost entirely peeled; traces exist on the interior, on the rim and handles, and around the outside of the foot.

The shape is familiar: cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 511-512, fig. 25; V, 1936, pp. 342-343, fig. 10; XV, 1946, p. 328, pl. 66, nos. 304-308; XVIII, 1949, pp. 333-334, pl. 96, nos. 85-86. It is figured here generously, partly to emphasize its popularity in the fifth century, partly to illustrate the range of variation. There were fragments in the well of more than 30 of these kraters, about equally divided between large and small. (Much smaller than any of these, however, is P 15050, from an Agora deposit of the last quarter of the century: H. 0.062 m.; D. 0.163 m.). It should be noted that straight or uptilted handles may occur in either size. Otherwise the examples from the well form a fairly homogeneous group, except for No. 91, which departs from the regular formula in respect to foot, rim and profile. Occasionally glaze is daubed over the tops of the handles, as if they had been included in the passage of the brush around the top of the rim.

Two representations of the shape on red-figured vases are cited in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 511: the cup by the Euaion Painter in Frankfurt (H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1923, pl. 39; *ARV*, 526, 11); and the cup by the

Pan Painter, Oxford 1911.617 (*CVA*, fasc. 1, III I, pl. 7, 3; *ARV*, p. 368, 88). Others may be noted, e.g. a cup by Makron: New York 20.246 (G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 75-76, no. 53, pl. 53; *ARV*, p. 306, 83).

92. Semi-glazed round-mouthed jug. Pl. 32.

P 21919. H. to rim, 0.19 m.; D. 0.183 m. Missing only a few fragments from body and rim.

Spreading ring foot; its inner face slopes up to the convex underside of the floor.

Globular body; short, concave neck; round mouth, with lip rounded toward the outside. Flat handle, with raised edges.

The exterior is covered with a dilute glaze wash of light brown color. There is a band of dull black to brown glaze at the mouth, both inside and out, reaching halfway down the neck. A narrow glazed band surrounds the body at the level of the handle-root, and there is some black glaze, unevenly applied, on the outside of the foot. The interior is reserved.

93. Semi-glazed round-mouthed jug. Pl. 32.

P 21920. H. to rim 0.19 m.; D. 0.18 m. Missing fragments of body and rim, and most of the handle.

Like No. 92 but less carefully made. The exterior was covered with red wash, now partly worn. Black glaze as on No. 92 and also on the interior of the body up to the level of the shoulder, which is reserved.

Fragments were noted of at least six other jugs of this type. The shape was a familiar one at Athens in the sixth century and the first half of the fifth. The earliest example at the Agora, P 17397, comes from a well of the seventh century. It is somewhat squatter than Nos. 92 and 93, which stand at the end of the Agora series, but in other respects essentially the same. For parallels cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, P 5154 and p. 344, n. 1; VII, 1938, p. 218, figs. 51-52; pp. 386-388 and fig.

23, no. 18; IX, 1940, p. 254 and fig. 57, nos. 327-328. It is probably one of these jugs that is pictured on a cup by the Kiss Painter (*CVA*, Robinson Collection, fasc. 2, III I, pl. 6, 1a; *ARV*, p. 90, 3).

The well contained fragments also of at least two semi-glazed jugs with angular profile: for the type cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 96, 164.

94. Semi-glazed round-mouthed jug. Pl. 32.

P 21923. H. 0.33 m.; D. 0.26 m. Missing about half the body. Low raised base; concave bottom.

High ovoid body. Straight neck. Flaring rim, rounded toward the outside. Flat handle, rooted in shoulder and rim, and thickened at each root.

Brown clay. Dark brown wash outside and perhaps also inside, certainly on the inside of the neck. The fabric is non-Attic.

Dull black glaze on the rim, on the outside of the handle, in two bands around the body below the level of the handle, and in another band around the base.

This jug is different in shape from Nos. **92** and **93** and a good deal larger. P 849, from the end of the fifth century, is a near parallel, but has a higher neck. In later examples the neck is still higher, e.g. P 13563, from an Agora deposit of the mid-fourth century.

95. Semi-glazed oinochoe, shape 3 (chous). Pl. 32.

P 21922. H. 0.235 m.; D. 0.19 m. Missing most of lip, and about a third of body.

The outer surface of the foot is worn and chipped; its inner face slopes up to meet the convex underside of the floor. The handle has a central ridge.

Buff clay. Light brown wash, mostly worn off. Black glaze covered all the interior, and was used also on the exterior of the lip, on the handle, and in a band around the body below the level of the handle. The handle is wholly glazed outside, but on its inside the glaze stops at the same level as on the lip.

This is the earliest example at the Agora of this particular combination of shape and decoration. There are several parallels from the second half of the century, e.g. P 1951, P 9229, and P 14162, and the lip of No. 95 has been restored on the analogy of these. At the time these begin, the round-mouthed type (represented by Nos. **92**, **93**) stops. The one may well have succeeded the other. They are alike in size and quality.

96. Semi-glazed ovoid lekythos. Pl. 32.

P 21921. H. to top of handle 0.22 m.; D. 0.17 m. Missing the rim and a few fragments of the body.

Spreading ring foot; sloping inner face; underside of floor convex.

Ovoid body; narrow, concave neck. Flat handle with raised ridges, rooted in shoulder and base of neck. Dark brown glaze, a) in an irregular band at the base of the neck (but not including the handle-root); b) in a broad band bordered each side by a narrow band at the level of the shoulder; c) on the outside of the foot. The interior is unpainted. The handle and foot of No. **96** are exactly like those of the globular lekythoi discussed under No. **47** above, and the fact that the glazed line around the neck stops short at the sides of the handle-root may represent a conscious reminiscence of the drip-ring. But the mouth was different, for at the present break the rim is opening out at a sharp angle, quite unlike the gradual line of the globular type.

The clay is buff with a yellowish cast, not characteristically Attic but yet not like that of the Corinthian group, Nos. **106-110**, below.

97. Semi-glazed lidded amphora. Pl. 32.

P 21924. H. 0.202 m.; D. 0.147 m. Missing fragments from body and rim, and all of lid.

Stout ring foot; inner face convex; underside of floor flat. Body tapers toward base, but only slightly. The neck is clearly distinguished from the body, and narrows somewhat toward the top. The rim is thick and rounded on the out-

side, and flat above; around its inner edge rises a vertical flange to receive a lid. Handles segmental in section, rooted in shoulder and base of rim.

Black glaze, occasionally fired red, covers all the interior except for a space around the shoulder; on the exterior it is applied to the rim, the outside of the handles, the ring foot, and in two bands around the body below the handles. A scored line around the base of the neck shows traces of red wash, and so also do other scored lines around the body just above the foot.

98. *Thinly-glazed column krater.* Pl. 33.

P 21928. H. 0.26 m.; D. (as restored) 0.245 m. Missing all one handle, part of another, and about half the rim and body.

Echinoid foot; narrow resting surface; inner face broad and sloping; underside of floor convex.

High ovoid body; low shoulder; high, slightly flaring neck. Flat rim, projecting toward the outside and overhanging. Columnar handles, rooted in the shoulder, joined along the top to the side of the rim, and rising above its level by an infinitesimal amount.

Black glaze, mostly fired red, covers the whole vase inside and out, except for the under-surface of the foot and floor, the underside of the rim, and occasionally also the lower half of its outside edge.

99. *Thinly-glazed column krater.* Pl. 33.

P 21927. H. (as restored) 0.27 m.; D. 0.255 m. Missing all the lower part, and fragments of the handles and rim; restored on the analogy of No. 98.

Similar in shape to No. 98 except that the rim, outside, is not so sharply undercut; also the rim of No. 98 slopes in, the rim here slopes out.

Dull black glaze, on the interior mostly fired reddish brown, covers all extant portions except the outside of the rim and a narrow band around the body about half way down.

These two kraters represent an inexpensive and probably provincial variety of table ware, lacking the handle plates, the well-articulated shoulder, and the carefully moulded foot of the contemporary red-figured examples, e. g. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 47. No similar pieces have been found at the Agora in fifth century contexts, but the shape had a long life at Corinth, where examples have been noted in deposits dating from the early fifth century into the fourth (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 583 and fig. 12, nos. 59-62; VI, 1937, p. 291 and fig. 24, p. 292, no. 146). The shape continued to be made, almost without change, into Hellenistic times, for it appears in the Agora, in a non-Attic fabric, in contexts of the third century B.C., e. g. P 17985. In Corinth, too, the thinly-glazed finish occurs also on other vase forms. The fabric of our pieces, however, is not characteristically Corinthian; it is rather sandy in texture, and in color a pink to buff, differing only slightly from Attic. The same fabric and the same glaze reappear in a column krater at Corinth found in the first of the deposits cited above (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 582-583 and fig. 12, no. 56). They occur again in the early fifth century jug found, with its cork stopper in place, in an Agora well (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 50 and pl. 25a). For the shape of this piece the only Agora parallel is one other jug likewise outside the Attic canon (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 231, fig. 27 at lower left). It seems possible that our two kraters and these jugs came from a pottery factory not far from Corinth. In any case, in view of the popularity of the shape at Corinth, and its non-existence (save for our two) in contemporary Athens, we can hardly attribute to Attic potters this economy version of the column krater. Moreover, in Athens the distinction between black-glazed and semi-glazed vase-forms is seldom blurred, and we find few parallels for the use of the thinly-glazed technique in demonstrably Attic vases of the fifth century.

100. *Semi-glazed amis.* Pl. 32.

P 21378. H. to top of handle (as restored), 0.23 m.; D. 0.146 m. Missing much of the lower part of the body, including all the base; also part of the handle, and the knob in front of it.

The body tapers gently downward along a low convex curve. The evidence of the lowest extant portion suggests that there was no separate foot, and the pot has been restored with a plain flat bottom; cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 512, no. 72. Flat handle.

Pale buff clay, with smooth buff surfacing. Glaze uniformly black, but somewhat chipped, is applied to the hood, the edge of the lip, the outside of the handle, and in three narrow bands around the body.

101. *Semi-glazed amis.* Not illustrated.

P 21926 a and b. a) Pres. H. 0.19 m.; D. 0.165 m. Missing all the lower half, and some fragments from the upper.

Flat handle, with raised edges. Buff clay. Red to brown glaze, partly worn, covers the hood and the handle, and is applied also in broad bands around the body.

b) Pres. H. 0.075 m.; D. of foot 0.11 m.

Three joining fragments from the foot and the lower part of the body.

Ring foot in two degrees, spreading above, vertical or slightly tapering below; broad flat resting surface; sloping inner face; underside of floor convex. Buff clay. Red glaze applied in bands around the body. Presumably from a pot like **101** a, but smaller in size.

These two are like two others at the Agora, from the third quarter of the century: cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 494-495, fig. 16 and p. 512, nos. 72-73.

No. **100** is of finer quality, both in glaze and in fabric.

102. *Large gray askos.* Pl. 37.

P 21954. H. to handle (as restored) 0.345 m.; D. 0.37 m. Missing parts of handle and spout, and about half the body.

Spreading ring foot. Broad bulging body. Vertical spout, with high concave neck, bulging at the base; the lip flares slightly and is marked off from the neck by an incised groove. Flat arching handle, rising steeply behind the spout and falling in a gentler curve to a point opposite on the shoulder. On the body beneath the handle is a small moulded knob with conical top, as if to suggest a lid. The illusion is reinforced by two incised grooves describing a partial circle, beginning and ending on opposite sides of the lower handle root; the grooves become indistinct in the space between spout and handle. Slate gray fabric, containing mica; the surface is darker in color than the center.

On grounds of fabric alone No. **102** would be recognized as non-Attic. In shape too it is different from a comparable type of Attic askos found in contexts dating from the late 6th century through the mid-fifth: for an example, see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 597-598, and fig. 22, no. 154. Two of those at the Agora, P 12785 and P 20793, do have a tiny nub on the body beneath the handle, but these Attic askoi are regularly much smaller and their spouts are set at an angle. However, it is chiefly the mammoth proportions of No. **102** and its exuberant lines that set it apart, and make it one of the most impressive pieces from the well. An interesting contrast in size is provided by P 21304, a miniature gray askos from a Mycenaean grave, also excavated in 1951 and published in the annual report (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 107, pl. 26c): P 21304 can easily be passed through the spout of No. **102**.

103. *Gray amphora.* Pl. 33.

P 21291. H. 0.272 m.; D. 0.23 m. Missing part of one handle, almost all the base, and about half the body; the complete profile is preserved.

Plain bottom. Low rounded body, with gently curving shoulder. High straight neck. Slightly flaring rim, flattish on top, projecting toward the outside. Flat strap handles, rooted in shoulder and neck.

Gray clay, with a few mica specks. Dull black glaze, partly worn, applied in broad vertical bands on neck and shoulder; these are bounded below by a broad horizontal band around the middle of the body; black glaze also on the rim and on the outside of the handles. Probably, but not certainly, the same fabric as No. 102; in any case, very close to it.

On other examples of gray ware at the Agora see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 329, under no. 315. At least three separate fabrics are represented.

104. Plain Amphora. Pl. 33.

P 21941. H. 0.295 m.; D. 0.245 m. Missing a few fragments from body and rim.

Ring foot, its outer face convex, its inner face concave; the underside of the floor is convex and bears a graffito *chi*. Ovoid body with walls tapering sharply toward the base. High shoulder and short neck. Flaring rim; lip rounded on the outside and marked off from the neck by a scraped groove. Flattish handles, rooted in shoulder and neck. Buff clay. The exterior is covered with a surfacing of similar but paler color, now partly peeled.

105. Plain jug with narrow neck; inscribed. Pl. 32.

P 21962. H. to handle, as restored 0.265 m.; D. as restored 0.22 m. Missing the rim, fragments of the base, and most of the lower part of the body.

Spreading ring foot, rather roughly finished. Handle segmental in section, rooted in neck and shoulder. The neck and the upper part of the shoulder were thrown separately; on the exterior the juncture of the two sections results in a noticeable bulge. Reddish buff clay, with a few mica specks. On the shoulder, near the handle, a large and crudely incised *delta*.

CORINTHIAN PLAIN WARE

The clay of Nos. 106-109 is yellow or yellowish buff in color, and the surfaces are soft and powdery. No. 110, here associated with them, has a similar color but a hard fabric.

This Corinthian household ware may have found its way to Athens as part of the dowry of some Corinthian bride who married into an Athenian family. In the same dowry may have been the set of loom-weights, one of which, No. 186, went into the well along with the fragments of the pottery. Some sentimental value must have been attached to No. 106 by its original owner, for otherwise it is not easy to see why so many lead clamps should have been lavished on its mending, nor the trouble taken to assemble these awkward fragments. Of all the vases from the well these proved most difficult to reconstruct.

For other Corinthian (or near-Corinthian) pieces, see Nos. 98, 99, 127, 164-166, 185 and 189.

106. Amphora with raised base. Pl. 34.

P 21936. H. 0.36 m.; D. as restored 0.295 m. Missing about a third of the body and a few fragments from the neck.

Raised base, generally convex in profile, but varying to angular; concave bottom. Slightly flaring neck, with a low moulded ridge around its base and a narrow raised band around its top. Flaring rim, oval in plan, its outer profile convex; its upper surface is flat and slopes in sharply. Handles segmental in section, rooted in shoulder and top of neck. Broken and mended in antiquity; one of the mends failed to produce a perfect join, leaving a wide gap between two fragments (see Pl. 34).

107. Pointed amphora. Pl. 34.

P 21937. H. 0.37 m.; D. as restored 0.285 m. Missing fragments from body. Ovoid body, without a base, ending at the bottom in a small conical nub.

Slightly flaring neck, with a low ridge around the top. Flaring rim, with convex outer profile; its upper surface is flat and slopes in. Flat handles, rooted in shoulder and top of neck; their profiles are not identical. For the shape, cf. the amphora at Corinth, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, fig. 35.

108. Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 34.

P 21938. H. 0.21 m.; D. as restored 0.17 m. Missing fragments of rim and body.

Raised base, low and spreading. Plain concave bottom. Short concave neck and trefoil lip. Flat handle, rooted in shoulder and rim.

The lines of this oinochoe are in strong contrast with those of the contemporary Attic chous (No. 95). An oinochoe in Corinth with outline decoration stands midway between the two (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 310, fig. 40).

109. Small amphora. Pl. 34.

P 21939. H. 0.195 m.; D. as restored 0.153 m. Missing part of one handle, and fragments of rim and body. Raised base; concave bottom.

Rather straight neck. Flaring rim, thickened on the outside. Flat handles, rooted in shoulder and top of neck; their profiles are not identical, and it is possible that the handle and rim fragments appearing on the right in Pl. 34 belong properly to another vase. Cf. the amphora at Corinth, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, fig. 25, no. 147.

110. Small amphora. Pl. 34.

P 21940. H. 0.165 m.; D. 0.14 m. Missing fragments from rim, neck and body.

Low raised base and concave bottom. Round body. Flaring neck, with thin plain rim. Handles segmental in section, rooted in shoulder and neck. Hard fabric, pale yellow on the surface, pink at the center.

111. Brittle ware jug. Pl. 35.

P 21942. H. 0.18 m.; D. as restored 0.175 m. Missing fragments of rim and handle, and more than half the body and base.

Plain flat bottom. Rounded body. Narrow vertical neck. Broadly flaring rim with deep outside edge, inturned at the bottom. Handle with raised edges, rooted in shoulder and rim. Light gray fabric, hard and brittle, with a metallic clink. The clay contains small dark specks. The outside is yellowish gray, the inside much darker. The surface is occasionally

lumpy and pitted, and the rim is warped. It will be observed in the photograph that the fragments are dark along the edges: this condition is due to the absorption of oil from the paint used to color the plaster reconstruction.

Fragments were noted of another vase in similar, but not identical fabric; its outer surface is variously orange and gray; its interior is gray. This latter fabric appears frequently at Corinth, often in jugs with flaring rims; these rims, however, are quite different in profile from that of No. 111. Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 290, nos. 140-141, also p. 288, fig. 23. Among the "blister" ware at Corinth I have seen nothing that exactly parallels No. 111, but in view of the great quantity of generally similar material from that site there is a certain presumption in favor of Corinthian origin.

112. Casserole. Pl. 36.

P 21948. H. 0.115 m.; D. of rim 0.165 m. Missing one handle, fragments of the rim, and about half the body.

Rounded bottom. Shallow flaring body. Sloping shoulder. Plain flaring rim, with a flat projection at its base inside, to receive a cover. Horizontal handles, rooted in the shoulder, circular in section, sharply upturned, and rising just above the level of the rim. On the shoulder, midway between the handles, a vertical spout, with concave walls, and rounded, slightly flaring lip.

Light brown cooking ware fabric, much blackened by burning; some mica specks.

There were fragments in the well of at least three other casseroles like No. 112; the spout is false in only one. On the shape, see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 513, nos. 77-79; XVIII, 1949, p. 335, no. 96. The earliest example at the Agora comes from a deposit of the second quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, P 5184). It was perhaps a contemporary of the casserole pictured on a pelike by the Geras Painter, published by Amyx in *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 508-518. "The two vertical lines in the crock's lip-zone" (*op. cit.*,

p. 510) represent the spout. The absence of the handles is not a serious objection to the identification. The pot is merely sketched, and the problem of rendering the horizontal handles in end-view may have been one that the painter could not wait to solve. The general shape of the body, and the spout, are sufficient to make his intentions clear, plus, of course, the cover, for which cf. our No. 114. It is also possible that the missing handles are to be thought of as broken—there is a suspicious bump in the line of the right shoulder at the point where we might expect a handle. The fabric is fragile, and handles are always vulnerable. It may be, therefore, that the casserole on the Geras Painter pelike, being no longer convenient for its original function, has been relegated to use as a container or crock, as Amyx has designated it.

113. *Small casserole.* Pl. 35.

P 21951. H. to rim, as restored 0.035 m.; to handle 0.063 m.; D. of rim as restored 0.145 m.

Two non-joining fragments preserve the handle and a small part of the rim and body.

Shallow open bowl with slightly rounded bottom. The rim is flanged inside to receive a cover. Vertical strap-handle. Brown cooking ware fabric; micaceous. Fragments were noted of at least one other.

In an Agora deposit of the end of the fifth century there were fragments of about twenty of these very small dishes, which are scarcely large enough to contain an individual portion. An inventoried example from this later context, P 11791, is smaller even than No. 113: H. to rim 0.022 m.; D. 0.105 m.

There are others at the Agora from several deposits of the late fifth century, e. g. P 2554, P 11665, and P 16970, and still others from the fourth century. On the latter see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 112; p. 115 and pl. 50 a, pyre, 1, 8; p. 125 and pl. 52 b, pyre 8, 11-12.

114. *Cooking ware cover.* Pl. 35.

P 21952. H. 0.06 m.; D. as restored 0.20 m.

Several fragments preserve the knob and about a third of the wall and rim.

Cover, convex in profile. Small cylindrical knob with conical top. Plain rim, partly blackened by fire. Brown clay, the outside smoothed.

Fragments were noted of at least two others.

These covers were used with the casseroles discussed under No. 112. Like them they first appear at the Agora around the middle of the century. For an example at Corinth, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, no. 209. For another type of casserole cover at Athens see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 334 and pl. 97, no. 90.

115. *Large cooking pot.* Pl. 35.

P 21947. H. 0.25 m.; D. 0.32 m. Missing several fragments of body and rim.

Round bottom. Body bulging and lop-sided. Gently sloping shoulder. Short concave neck. Flaring rim. Flat strap handles, rooted in shoulder and rim.

Coarse cooking ware fabric, sandy red to gray brown; surface much pitted.

116. *Small cooking pot.* Pl. 35.

P 21949. H. 0.14 m.; D. 0.18 m. Missing fragments of the body, and chips from the rim and neck.

Smaller than No. 115 and with only one handle, but essentially similar. Marks of burnishing on body.

117. *Small cooking pot.* Pl. 35.

P 21950. H. 0.095 m.; D. as restored 0.11 m. Missing handle, most of rim, and about half of body.

Like No. 116 but extremely small.

In addition to Nos. 115-117 there were fragments in the well of at least five other cooking pots of this type. The range in size can be noted in the photograph: No. 115 is a capacious soup-kettle; No. 117 holds less than a pint. The fabric is regularly thin, apparently to promote quick cooking; cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 513, under nos. 77-79. All are black-

ened by fire. This type of pot does not aim at distinction, either in shape or fabric, and understandably so, and it is not surprising to find that it persists with little change, at the Agora and elsewhere, at least through the 6th and 5th centuries. Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 599, and fig. 21, nos. 159-161; D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus V*, Baltimore, 1933, pl. 173, nos. 838-839.

118. *Rim fragment of cooking pot.* Not illustrated.

P 21944. Pres. H. 0.11 m.; est. D. of rim 0.22 m.

Two joining fragments preserve one handle and part of the rim and body of an open vessel with flaring walls.

Plain rim, flat on top. Horizontal handle, circular in section, uptilted. Brown clay, fired gray around one handle-root; many white specks and some mica. Another rim fragment is similar, except that the clay has fired red on the surface, gray at the center.

119. *Cooking plate.* Pl. 36.

P 21945. H. to handle 0.065 m.; D. 0.39 m. Missing one handle and fragments of rim and bottom.

Round flat plate with low vertical sides. Plain flat rim, sloping toward the outside; the rim rises at two points into rounded lugs that are pierced to form handles. Coarse brown cooking ware fabric. The outside is rough, the inside smooth, but blackened from burning.

There were fragments of at least three other plates of this type in the well. It occurs also in Agora deposits of the early and late 5th century. For an example at Corinth see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 306, and fig. 36, no. 214.

120. *Cooking plate (?)*. Pl. 35.

P 21946. H. 0.035 m.; est. D. 0.20 m.

Two joining fragments from the outer edge of a flat plate with low rim. Within the rim is a narrow channel, lower than the interior surface of the plate and separated from it by a wall that rises to a height of 0.03 m., approxi-

mately twice that of the rim itself. Around the underside of the floor is a shallow groove corresponding to the position of the inner wall above.

Reddish-brown cooking ware, with many mica specks. Faint marks, like burnishing, radiate from the center of the floor.

121. *Shallow brazier on stand.* Pl. 36.

P 21956. H. to rim 0.21 m.; D. of rim 0.505 m.; of base 0.25 m. Missing both handles, save for one root and fragments of rim, body and base.

Hollow circular stand, spreading out at the foot to form a resting surface. Four square openings are cut in its sides just below the line of its junction with the body.

Broad shallow body. Flat rim, projecting slightly toward the inside. On opposite sides of the rim are two spit-rests, long and narrow, and slightly pointed at the ends. Their long upper surfaces are concave. Two horizontal handles, circular in section, attached just below the level of the rim, at opposite quarters from the spit-rests.

Coarse cooking ware fabric, varying in color from sandy red to gray brown; the interior shows no obvious marks of burning.

There were fragments from the well of at least ten other braziers of this type. They appear at the Agora in household deposits of the fifth century from the second quarter onwards; so far as the present evidence goes, the type was not in use before the Persian Wars. Two of the Agora examples, both from deposits of the second half of the century, have been previously published: cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 514, no. 82 and p. 515, fig. 27; XVIII, 1949, p. 335, no. 99. For an example at Corinth, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, no. 212, and p. 306.

122. *Shallow brazier on stand.* Fig. 1.

P 21957. Pres. H. 0.036 m.; D. of rim 0.225 m. Missing all the stand, fragments of rim and

body, and both handles; three handle-roots remain.

Shallow body. Flat rim, projecting toward the outside; there is a shallow groove around its upper surface near the outer edge. Horizontal handles, circular in section, rooted in the body below the level of the rim. Sandy red cooking ware fabric, containing much mica; the underside has a much brighter color than the upper.

The name brazier is applied to No. **122** with less confidence than to No. **121**. It is smaller, and lacks the spit-rests. In other respects it suits the type very well. For the probable shape of the missing stand, cf. P 4870, an Agora example from a slightly later deposit, in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 50, and p. 52, fig. 33.

123. Deep brazier. Pl. 36.

P 21958. H. as restored 0.17 m.; D. of rim 0.19 m. Missing one handle, fragments of the rim, and about half the body.

Plain flat bottom. Bulging body, pierced with many small round holes and containing one large rectangular opening. Flat flaring rim, sloping towards the inside; three rounded lugs project at equal intervals from its inner edge. Two short horizontal handles, circular in section, rooted in the shoulder, and slightly upturned.

Coarse reddish-brown cooking ware; marks of burning on interior and rim.

Fragments were noted of at least four other braziers like No. **123**, some with vertical squared lugs rising from the rim. For the same general type, cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 514, no. 83, and p. 515, fig. 27; VI, 1937, pp. 305-6 and fig. 36, no. 213. The deep brazier, though less common than the shallow type, was apparently standard equipment for Athenian kitchens throughout the fifth century.

124. Barrel-shaped cooking stand. Pl. 36.

P 21959. H. as restored 0.48 m.; D. of the base 0.40 m.; of the rim as restored 0.375 m.; max. D. as restored 0.525 m. Missing fragments of base, most of rim, and much of body;

restored with an arched opening in the wall at the bottom, on the analogy of P 17822, from an Agora deposit of the mid-sixth century.

Barrel-shaped stand, open at each end. At the bottom the walls are thickened to provide a resting surface. At the top there is a plain flat rim, with a small bevel at its inner edge. Coarse brown cooking ware fabric, with much mica. The interior shows signs of burning both at top and bottom.

There are two similar, but slightly smaller, stands at the Agora. The sixth century example cited above has the level of greatest circumference nearer the rim—its shape does not suggest a barrel, but rather the body of an amphora. The other, P 16520, comes from a deposit of the second half of the fifth century, and is distinctly barrel-shaped.

Miss Talcott has proposed what seems to me a convincing explanation of the function of these curious stands, viz. that they were used to heat large cauldrons, and that the fuel employed consisted of twigs, vine clippings and the like. Such fuel, being at once bulky and unsubstantial, would be awkward to handle in the normal type of brazier, but could be conveniently and safely confined within the ample walls of these stands. The opening at the bottom would admit the necessary draft.

125. Cooking ware amphora. Pl. 37.

P 21953. H. 0.27 m.; D. of rim 0.19 m. Missing part of one handle and about half the body.

High ring foot; narrow resting surface; the inner face rises in a concave curve to merge without interruption in the underside of the floor.

Heavy ovoid body, curving directly into the deep concave neck. Plain flaring rim. Vertical handles, circular in section, rooted in body and neck; a finger-mark at the base of each handle.

Brick-red fabric, thin and gritty, containing many small specks; a light-colored surfacing was applied to the exterior, but has mostly worn off.

Fragments were noted of at least five similar jars, some of which, having narrower mouths, were possibly hydrias.

At the Agora this type of amphora can be traced back to the 7th century: cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 600, fig. 67, which is slenderer than No. 125 but which, like all the others, has finger-marks at the base of each handle. For an example from the north slope of the Acropolis see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 256, no. 334 and fig. 58 (p. 255).

126. *Round-mouthed cooking ware jug.* Pl. 35.

P 21943. H. 0.155 m.; D. 0.165 m. Missing about a quarter of body and chips from rim.

Low ring foot, with sloping inner face. Round body. Short concave neck. Round mouth. Flat projecting rim. Handle circular in section, rooted in shoulder and rim; a finger-mark at its base.

Thin reddish-buff fabric, containing mica and gravel specks; the surface is pitted. Apparently wheel-made. Fragments were noted of at least eight other examples, some from much larger jugs than the one inventoried; in one, for example, the inside diameter of the mouth is 0.095 m.; the corresponding dimension in No. 126 is 0.038 m. There is also an example at the Agora from a fill dated to the end of the 6th century, P 13760, with a height of 0.206 m. and a diameter of 0.20 m.

127. *Mortar with spout.* Pl. 34.

P 21955. H. 0.12 m.; D. of rim 0.435 m. Missing one lug and about a third of body and base.

Ring foot, with almost vertical outer face; broad flat resting surface; underside of floor convex. Broad shallow bowl. Heavy collared rim, interrupted by the spout, and bearing two rounded lugs, which are thickened at the ends.

Greenish-yellow clay, with many dark bits. Fragments were noted of at least one other mortar in the same fabric, and also of one in reddish clay. There are several mortars from

Agora deposits of the fifth century, of various sizes, with and without spouts, and usually but not always of yellow clay; cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 513, no. 81, and p. 514, fig. 6. This yellow fabric is presumably Corinthian. The shape occurs plentifully at that site: cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 299-301, nos. 190-194, and fig. 32; VII, 1938, p. 601, no. 176, and p. 604, fig. 26.

In the well also there were fragments from the rims and bases of at least two large basins on stands, also probably Corinthian. For the shape see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 296-297 and fig. 28.

128. *Pithos (?) rim.* Pl. 37.

P 21969. Pres. H. 0.095 m.; D. of rim 0.36 m. One group of seven joining fragments and another of four preserve about half the rim and neck of a large open vessel.

Broad flat rim, projecting toward the outside; its outer edge is moulded as a Doric hawkbeak. Slightly concave neck, opening out rapidly into the body.

Fabric yellow-buff on surface, reddish-buff at the center; mica specks. Black glaze, much worn, on interior of neck and apparently once also on upper surface of rim. Exterior reserved.

129. *Pithos fragment.* Pl. 37.

P 21961. Pres. H. 0.08 m.; thickness of wall 0.02 m.; of floor at base 0.05 m. A single fragment from the bottom of a pithos.

Raised base, with rounded ridge near the top. Fabric red near the surface, brown at the center; exterior buff-colored; the clay contains gravel chips and other impurities.

Fragments were noted of several other heavy-walled vessels, presumably also pithoi.

130. *Terracotta bath tub.* Pl. 37.

P 21960. Pres. H. 0.20 m.; pres. W. 0.64 m.; pres. L. 0.55 m. Several fragments from the front half, plus several non-joining fragments.

The front of the tub is rounded. The sides are flaring, and curve up as they proceed toward

the back. The rim is flat on top, and on the outside is thickened to form a collar. At the front there is a hemispherical basin: diameter 0.26 m.; depth below floor of tub 0.10 m. At the bottom of the basin is a small circular hole.

Coarse reddish-buff fabric, with many straw marks; dark red glaze inside, mostly worn off.

Fragments were noted apparently from one other tub. On Greek bath tubs, see Robinson *Excavations at Olynthus* II, pp. 46-50, figs. 136-137, and VIII, pp. 200-201, pls. 53, 54, 2. No. 130 was approximately the same size as the Olynthian examples, but its foot-basin is smaller. And there seems to have been a gradual rise from front to back rather than the abrupt transition that is found at Olynthos. There is another tub at the Agora, P 12805, from a deposit of the late sixth century, of which only the back is preserved. Its fabric is like that of No. 130, and the rim is thickened in the same way. Cf. also W. Deonna, *Le mobilier délien* (*Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XVIII), Paris, 1938, pp. 86-88, and fig. 122.

GRAFFITI AND DIPINTI

131. *Ostrakon of Perikles, son of Xanthippos.* Pl. 38.

P 21527. Max. dim. 0.061 m. A wall fragment from a storage amphora. Reddish buff clay; surfacing in pale white.

Painted in black on the outside: [Πε]ρικλῆ[ς] Ξανθίππο. This ostrakon has been previously published, in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 113, pl. 31 f, and is there assigned with some assurance to the year 443 B.C. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that it may derive from an earlier *ostrakophoria*.

132. *Base of black-glazed bowl or one-handler with graffito.* Pl. 38.

P 21374. D. of foot 0.052 m. Glazed all over.

Incised on the underside of the floor: Ἀριστ() Probably an abbreviation of the owner's name.

133. *Base of semi-glazed oinochoe with graffito.* Pl. 38.

P 21400. D. 0.09 m. For the shape cf. Nos.

92-93. Thin brown glaze on outer face of foot and in patches on the underside.

Incised on the underside of the floor: Ἀριστ() Cf. the preceding.

134. *Black-glazed skyphos, type A, with graffito.* Pl. 38.

P 21290. H. 0.138 m.; D. of rim, as restored, 0.175 m.; D. of base 0.114 m. Missing about half the wall and rim, and small pieces of the foot. Like No. 29 in shape, size and decoration; the handles here also are lop-sided. Good black glaze, partly peeled, especially around the handles.

Incised on the underside of the floor: Φαιστίο. The name is otherwise unknown.

135. *Base of semi-glazed bowl with graffito.* Pl. 38.

P 21399. D. 0.052 m. Raised rounded base. Underside of floor concave and wholly reserved. There is a reserved band at the junction of the base and the wall. The remainder of the fragment is in black glaze. It comes probably from a bowl like No. 74.

Incised on the underside: ΞΚΥΘΑ. I take this also to be a mark of ownership, but am uncertain whether to regard the form as complete in itself or an abbreviation.

136. *Fragment of base of semi-glazed krater with graffito.* Pl. 38.

P 21373. Max. dim. 0.135 m. The shape as in Nos. 85 ff.

On the underside of the floor there is an incomplete graffito: [— — —] ΙΝ [— — —]όντος. The arrangement of the extant letters suggests that the original inscription contained two names, but it seems doubtful that we are dealing with an ostrakon, for the extant fragment, even though incomplete, is rather large for such use.

137. *Fragment of black-glazed skyphos, type A, with graffito. Pl. 38.*

P 21404. D. of foot 0.077 m. A single fragment preserves most of the base and some of the adjacent wall.

Incised counterclockwise around the center of the underside: $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$. The first and last letters are separated by a long straight stroke. Cf. the graffito on a lamp from the Pnyx, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 41, 49 and p. 53, fig. 21, no. 7.

138. *Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type, with graffito. Fig. 4.*

P 21889. H. 0.092 m.; est. D. of rim 0.13 m.; of foot 0.064 m. Missing both handles, about half the wall, and much of the rim.

So far as this skyphos is preserved it resembles, in essential respects, No. 23. It has, however, no reserved band around the inside of the lip, and no decoration in applied red. The glaze is of good quality, but there are faded streaks on the outside near the rim.

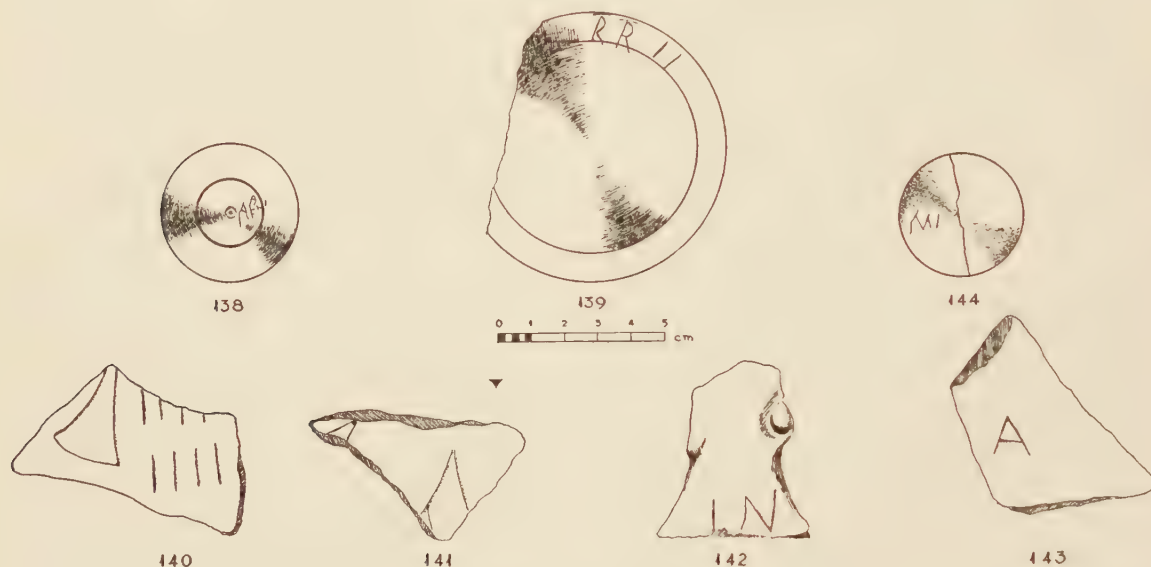


FIG. 4. Graffiti.

There is a graffito on the underside of the floor, for which see Fig. 4.

139. *Base of black-glazed oinochoe (or globular lekythos) with graffito. Fig. 4.*

P 21401. D. 0.102 m. One fragment preserves almost all the base, and the start of the walls. Spreading ring foot, with sloping inner face. Dull black glaze on the outside, partly peeled. Bottom completely reserved, so also the interior.

Neatly incised on the inner face of the foot: $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$.

140. *Fragment of storage amphora (?) with graffito. Fig. 4.*

P 21965. Max. dim. 0.075 m.; Th. 0.006 m. One fragment, from the shoulder (?) of a storage amphora. Buff clay, the exterior lighter in color than the interior; mica specks.

The graffito on the exterior may safely be taken to represent the number 18: see fig. 4.

141. *Fragment of storage amphora with graffito. Fig. 4.*

P 21967. Max. dim. 0.07 m.; Th. 0.011 m. One fragment, from the base of the neck. Pale

buff clay, micaceous; the outer surface has a yellowish cast.

For the remains of the graffito see Fig. 4; perhaps to be restored as ΔΕ. Should this be the correct restoration, one of the possible interpretations might be ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ or ΔΕΜΟΣΙΑ: cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 353-354; Supplement IV, pp. 126-127; VII, 1938, p. 222.

142. *Neck of small plain amphora with graffito.* Fig. 4.

P 21968. Pres. H. 0.052 m.; max. D. 0.046 m. One fragment, of narrow neck, flaring below. Remains of a handle-root on each side.

Incised on the outside at the bottom: IN

143. *Fragment of storage amphora with graffito.* Fig. 4.

P 21966. Max. dim. 0.07 m.; Th. 0.09 m. One fragment, from the shoulder (?). Buff clay, with mica specks; darker inside than out.

Incised on the outside: A

144. *Black-glazed one-handler (or bowl) with graffito.* Fig. 4.

P 21914. H. 0.035 m.; D. of rim 0.091 m. Missing about a third of rim and wall; no handle preserved.

Rounded ring foot, with sloping inner face; scored grooves between foot and convex underside of floor. Flat rim, sloping towards the inside. Glazed all over except the bottom; the glaze is variously dull black, red, worn, and peeled.

Incised on the underside of the floor: MI. A similar graffito appears to exist on the base of a fragmentary stemless cup from the well (uncatalogued); both may be the abbreviated name of the owner.

145. *Wall fragment of storage amphora with dipinto.* Pl. 38.

P 21963. Max. dim. 0.10 m. Reddish clay. The interior is thickly coated with resin. Traces of white surfacing outside.

On the outside also are the remains of a

dipinto: a *delta*, followed by what appears to be an *alpha*.

146. *Wall fragment of storage amphora with dipinto.* Pl. 38.

P 21964. Max. dim. 0.04 m. Buff clay. Coated inside with resin. On the outside there are remains of two lines of letters: in the first line there is a *delta* followed by part of another letter, perhaps an *alpha*; in the second line an uncertain letter is followed by what is probably an *alpha*.

The freshness and thickness of the resin coating on both this and the preceding make it unlikely that either need be considered as remains of ostraka (of Damon).

For graffiti that appear incidentally on other pieces see Nos. **62, 86, 104, 105, 163** and **178**; note also the inscription painted on No. **9**.

WINE JARS

The following discussion, Nos. **147-170** (pp. 101 to 110 and Pls. 39, 40) has been contributed by Miss Virginia Grace.

147. *Wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21970. H. 0.615 m.; D. 0.405 m. Parts, one side, missing.

Rim flat-topped, and offset from the neck. Broad handles with finger impressions on the lower attachments. Ring foot.

Fairly fine pink to buff clay, fired partly light grey at the core.

Later fifth century examples at the Agora of this type of jar with relatively heavy rim, full body, and handles and clay as described, are P 16526 and P 9429, from deposits respectively of the third and last quarters of the century. A closer parallel, on which the spreading ring foot is also preserved, was found by Professor G. E. Mylonas in excavating the cemetery at Eleusis in 1952; it probably dates not long after No. **147**. An earlier example, apparently of the same series, is P 12760, from a well filled in about 480 B.C.: for the deposit, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement

IV, pp. 25, 30-31, the "second well of Building F," predecessor of the Tholos. During the fifth century there is an increase, not very great, in the height of neck, handles, foot, and jar as a whole; the shoulder drops after P 12760 and there is a decrease in diameter, but in the last quarter there seems to be something of a return to the earlier fuller and more high-shouldered body. During the second half of the century the flat top of the rim changes from horizontal, as it still is in No. 147, to an increasing down slope toward the outer edge, the beginning of a mushroom profile carried still further in the fourth century.

Foot fragments of a number of other similar jars were found in the deposit. But with variations not now easy of demarcation, this foot is common also to other types of jars of the period (cf. No. 153, etc.), and it has not been determined how many came from jars like No. 147.

The term "wine jar" is here applied without further distinction to large plainware amphoras which are "pointed" below, end, that is, in a narrow taper, or in some sort of knob, which may be, as here, an ordinary amphora foot but so small as to be suitable as an extra handle, not as an adequate independent support. These jars however were evidently used not only for wine but also—in smaller numbers—for oil and other fluids, and it is possible that some types were made chiefly for oil. More than other types of pointed amphoras known to us from the fifth century, the one here represented by No. 147 resembles an older amphora with simple painted decoration which has been tentatively identified as the Attic oil amphora of its day: see R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 210-211. The relation of this older type to the earlier Panathenaic amphora has been recognized by Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black Figure*, p. 89, with note 4, p. 116. On the decorated amphoras, earlier and later, the spreading foot is broad enough to provide a base, and the mouth large enough for the convenient accessibility of the contents. It

seems possible that jars like No. 147, with the foot reduced to a knob and the neck narrowed for corking, held refills for Panathenaic amphoras.

148. *Wine jar of grey ware.* Fig. 5.

P 21975. Reconstructed H. ca. 0.766 m.; reconstructed D. 0.348 m.; H. of neck from offset below to top of rim, 0.16 m. (it has been drawn slightly too short); outer D. of neck, 0.116 m. Many pieces join to make (1) the fragmentary neck and part of one side to below the middle of the jar, and (2) the bottom of the jar and parts of the sides to above the middle. Though these two parts do not join, the fabric indicates they are from the same jar. The reconstruction of the exact height and swell of body could not be certain: the fragments were not quite enough and the joining surfaces were too poor because of the very friable nature of the clay.

The features of shape not visible in the drawing are the section of the handle, which was thick, nearly round, and the bottom of the lower handle attachment, which narrows to a sort of tail in relief.

Soft grey clay, with a very little mica.

149. *Top of wine jar, grey ware.* Pl. 39.

P 21974. Pres. H. 0.26 m.; H. of neck to top of rim 0.17 m.; outer D. of neck 0.13 m. Neck, handles, and part of the shoulder preserved, in one piece.

Heavy flaring rim with full outer curve; narrow offset band below it. The thick handles encroach on the offset band but not on the rim, though in attaching them the potter rubbed off some of the rim; the lower handle attachment tapers to a tail in relief on the shoulder. The base of the neck is more distinct than in No. 148.

Rather hard micaceous clay with large grey core, and buff grey surface, pitted.

The series to which Nos. 148 and 149 belong has been followed from the eighth century to about 300 B.C. We owe the identification

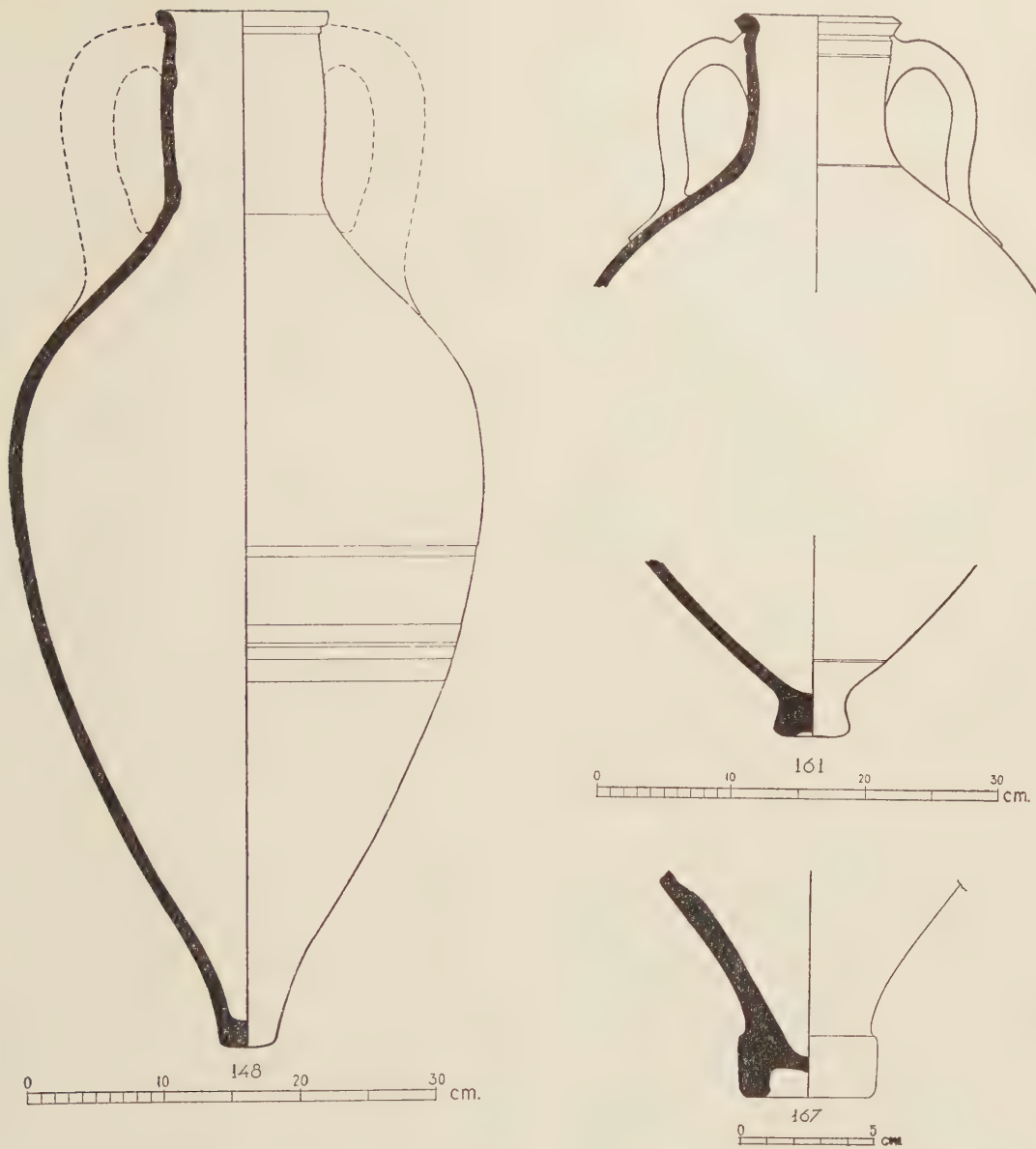


FIG. 5. Wine Jars.

of the earlier stages to Mr. John Cook, and they will perhaps be best presented with the results of his excavations in Old Smyrna, where many fragments were found; I am grateful to him for showing me his material in considerable detail. Examples of the late fifth and of probably the late fourth centuries have been published: for the former, see P. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 336 and pl. 98, no. 101, from the Agora; for the latter, E. Breccia, *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes, La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. 90-91, fig. 53. (I owe the latter reference to Professor G. R. Edwards of the University of Pennsylvania; I saw the jars in December 1951, in a storeroom of the Alexandria Museum, by courtesy of Dr. Adriani, director of the museum).

Characteristic is the grey or buff-grey clay, containing sometimes a good deal of mica; but some of the smaller jars of the late sixth to early fifth centuries are fired reddish buff: cf. Agora P 12789 and P 16800, both from deposits datable before 480 B.C. The most constant and exclusive feature of shape is at the lower handle attachment, where there is no finger impression, but the handle tapers below to a sort of tail that lies in relief on the shoulder. The handles are thick in section, and are drawn in toward the neck at the lower end. The series cannot be fully presented here, but some fifth century developments may be mentioned. An offset band below the rim begins probably in the late sixth century and continues in the fifth and fourth. During the fifth century the neck and handles tend in general to become longer, and the demarcation at the base of the neck becomes less marked, while the upper attachment of the handle encroaches increasingly on the rim; the neck becomes somewhat bombé. The body narrows to a peg toe which has at first a small depression in the center underneath, no longer seen on No. 148; this foot is drawn out to increasing narrowness as we approach 400 B.C. (cf. Corbett's no. 101). An example of the third quarter is

P 16443, from the same deposit as P 16526 mentioned above in connection with No. 147. We lack complete examples to which a definite date in the first half of the fifth century can be attributed. No. 149, of which only the top is preserved although the fabric is solid, was presumably an older discard than No. 148; note that in No. 149 the handles do not encroach on the rim, the neck is shorter in proportion to its width (it seems to have come from a larger jar than No. 148) and is more clearly marked off at the base. No. 149 is perhaps to be dated in the second quarter, No. 148 early in the third.

Apart from Nos. 148 and 149, parts of at least two more jars of this series were found in the deposit, the clay of one being reddish.

150. *Chian wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21971. H. 0.71 m.; D. 0.294 m. Parts missing.

Plain rim and bulging neck, pressed together by the handles so that the rim is not a circle. Rather thick handles without finger impressions on the lower attachments. Hollow, about 0.02 m. deep, in the underside of the foot.

Pinkish buff clay containing white bits and some mica, pitted surface.

151. *Fragments of a Chian wine jar.* Not illustrated.

P 21972a (neck, mended) and b (lower part, in one piece). Pres. H. of a) 0.175 m.; of b), 0.27 m.

Top and bottom of a jar or possibly two jars like No. 150 but somewhat larger: for instance the outer rim measurements are 0.145 by 0.116 m., as opposed to 0.135 by 0.111 m. in No. 150.

152. *Fragment of a Chian wine jar.* Pl. 40.

P 21973. Pres. H. 0.16 m. Preserved are part of the rim, neck, and one handle, from a jar like No. 150.

The clay of No. 152 is fired with a distinct core, and a harder, redder layer near the surface.

The jar was marked with impressed rings near the center of the neck, one and a half rings to the edge of the break.

Fragments of similar jars marked with (single) circles exist at the Agora: e.g. SS 7803, with impressed circle at the base of the handle, and P 20807, with circle in paint on the neck. Cf. also E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XXVIII, nos. 27, 29 (text, p. 278), similarly marked fragments of which no. 27 at least is from a Chian wine jar. These are all from earlier jars, datable by their deposits before 480 B.C. Similar dipinto circles are found on still earlier Chian wine jars, e.g. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 607, fig. 29, no. 213, datable in the sixth century.

Besides Nos. 150-152, the deposit contained parts of at least ten other Chian amphoras.

A fair number of these amphoras with bulging neck has been published: cf. L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 496, fig. 17, no. 86, with references on pp. 514-515; M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 301, fig. 33, no. 202; E. Gjerstad and others, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. III, pl. CI, the largest jar (Vouni, Tomb 3), illustrated also text p. 306, fig. 165; etc. etc. Many have been found in South Russia, and the type has there for some time been identified as Chian: cf. B. N. Grakov, in the *Russian Bulletin of the History of Material Culture*, 1935, pp. 177-178. The identification is based on the amphora represented on coins of Chios, and I add a reference to A. Baldwin, *The American Journal of Numismatics*, XLVIII, pl. III, where the swollen neck, most obvious peculiar feature of this part of the series, is clear enough on, for instance, nos. 15, 18, 21, though it has not always been understood by numismatists without access to the actual jars.

In the third quarter of the century this jar was replaced by a new style, in which the conspicuous omission of the bulge in the neck presumably called attention to a change in standard. The two are shown side by side by Miss Talcott, *loc. cit.*, no. 85 being identified

as also Chian by the coin-type of sphinx and amphora impressed on several duplicates from the same deposit (cf. also *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 202, fig. 1, no. 1, for one of the jars stamped with the coin-type, and *ibid.*, pl. I, no. 1, for one of the coin-type stamps). The new amphora retains features of its predecessor, for instance, the foot hollow on the underside, the lip of which at this period is turned back further than on No. 150—very clear on the two jars illustrated by Miss Talcott.

The development of the Chian wine amphora can be followed from the seventh century B.C. to the early Roman period. It is fixed at many points by discovery in dated deposits. Identification of the type is confirmed by quantities of fragments found in the British excavations in the suburbs of the ancient city of Chios as well as in near-by Smyrna, and by whole jars drawn in fishermen's nets from the sea between Chios and the mainland. I am grateful to Mr. Cook, also to Mr. R. Nicholls and Mr. J. Anderson, for showing me the fragments from the excavations. A publication is planned of the Chian series as a whole.

153. Wine jar, red ware. Pl. 39.

P 21976. H. 0.614 m.; D. 0.387 m. Parts missing.

Low rim, offset below, with uneven flat top. Thick handles with finger impressions on the lower attachments. Flaring ring foot.

Fine red clay, drip of glaze wash from the rim.

154. Top of wine jar, red ware. Pl. 39.

P 21977. Pres. H. 0.27 m.

The neck, handles, and part of the body preserved of an amphora like No. 153, but apparently a little larger.

155. Bottom of wine jar, red ware. Not illustrated.

P 21978. Pres. H. 0.31 m.; D. 0.397 m. The foot preserved, with a little more than half the body.

From an amphora like No. **153**, but a little larger.

156. *Fragment of wine jar, red ware.* Pl. 39.

P 21979. Pres. H. ca. 0.23 m. Part of neck, rim, shoulder, and one handle preserved.

Probably from an amphora like No. **153**, although the neck and rim are more carefully profiled, and the clay is less yellow, darker and harder, than in Nos. **153-155**.

The deposit contained parts of three more jars like No. **153**.

For a slightly earlier jar of the same series, see L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 345, fig. 12, P 5174, from an Agora deposit of the second quarter of the century. Further development is indicated by P 16525, from the same third-quarter deposit as provided later parallels for Nos. **147** and **148**. The fine red clay is distinctive. The tendency during the second and third quarters is toward greater height, partly accounted for by longer neck and handles; the rim tends to be less carefully made.

157. *Wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21980. H. 0.505 m.; D. 0.316 m. Parts missing.

Rim inset from neck (effect of groove). Moderately thick handles with finger impressions on the lower attachments. Flaring ring foot.

Dull rather coarse red clay, with sand and mica.

A similar jar of slightly earlier date is P 16063, from a deposit of the second quarter. These jars are perhaps related to the series of No. **153**, etc.

158. *Wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21981. Pres. H. 0.605 m.; D. 0.381 m. Parts missing include all the rim.

Medium broad handles, with small finger impressions on the lower attachments. The under-side of the foot shows a small shallow central depression, in the midst of which projects the tip of the body.

Micaceous buff clay.

159. *Top of wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21982. Pres. H. 0.165 m. Preserved, the handles and part of the rim, neck, and shoulder.

Rim inset from neck (effect of groove). Broad handles with small finger impressions on the lower attachments.

Somewhat micaceous clay, buff on the surface, red inside; bits.

160. *Top of wine jar.* Pl. 39.

P 21983. Pres. H. 0.165 m. Preserved, neck, handles and part of shoulder, in one piece.

The shape resembles that of No. **159**, but the rim is distinctly offset.

Micaceous dark buff clay with large grey core.

Nos. **158-160** seem to belong to a single class of buff amphoras with oval body, short neck, and somewhat spreading handles, characteristic details being the unusually small finger impressions on the lower handle attachments, and the broadish stumpy foot with the point of the body showing in the middle of the small depression on the under side. Fully preserved examples are P 5176 of the second quarter (from the deposit published *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 333 ff.) and an amphora from Professor Mylonas's excavations at Eleusis (see above, under No. **147**) which must fall between P 5176 and No. **158**. In the two complete jars the rim is very faintly marked off from the neck; but P 5178 (from the same second quarter deposit as P 5176), a similar incomplete jar, has a rim like that of No. **159**, which may therefore be suggested to fill out the topless No. **158**. The tendency from the second to the third quarters seems to be toward greater height, partly accounted for by longer neck and handles.

161. *Fragments of Mendaean(?) wine jar.* Pl. 40 (part) and Fig. 5.

P 21987. Approximate preserved heights of fragments: a) 0.21 m.; b) 0.19 m.; c) 0.14 m. Height of jar as the pieces are arranged in the drawing (from a rough estimate) 0.54 m. a)

and b) are two non-joining fragments, each with a handle, of probably the same amphora neck; and in c) we have the foot and lower part of apparently the same amphora.

Flaring rim with outer edge neatly bevelled off. Rim set off by a groove; another, narrower, groove just below. Broad band handles with large skidding finger impressions on their lower attachments. On the under side of the foot, shallow depression.

Micaceous light red clay with reddish buff surface. Red stain below rim and on top of handles. Pairs of paint bands in thin red above the foot, in thin black around the neck.

Residue of yellowish deposit on the bottom inside.

With the fragment bearing the coin-type of Mende published *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 20, no. 1, were others belonging apparently to the same or a similar jar, preserving a flaring rim, grooved below, and a flaring foot with shallow depression underneath and with a paint band round the body above it; the two latter fragments show on the inside a heavy deposit, yellowish on the surface; all three are of micaceous reddish buff clay. The fragments were found together in the lower fill of a well in Section I of the Agora excavations (grid reference 2/ΣΤ) with pottery of the late fifth century B.C.: note the correction on my statement, Suppl. VIII, p. 186, on the finding place of the stamped fragment. The suggestion is due to Lucy Talcott that these features of rim, foot, fabric and decoration probably identify as Mendaean the amphora published by her in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 496, fig. 17, no. 88 (P 2375), from the deposit of the third quarter of the century from which we have also a number of Chian wine jars (see above). The same features characterize No. 161.

In this series, the tendency in the second half of the fifth century is for the neck and handles to grow longer, and the handles narrower; and for the foot to grow larger and more flaring, while the diameter of the depression underneath does not increase.

Three stamps are now known at the Agora with the Mendaean coin type: SS 6917 and SS 10231, both from deposits of the late fifth century, see P. Corbett, *op. cit.*, p. 337, under no. 106; and SS 10761, from a disturbed part of the filling of the Stoa of Attalos. SS 10761 is perhaps from the same die as SS 6917 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 20, no. 1), while SS 10231 (Corbett pl. 98, no. 166) is slightly different. The use of the coin type on this series of jars, so far as we know it, is limited to the late fifth century: of five similar jars put together from Miss Talcott's third-quarter deposit (P 2374-78), none is stamped; and P 4422 which seems to illustrate the continuation of the series in the latter fourth century (from Section B, well at 15/ΛΔ) is also unstamped.

In the present deposit, No. 162 may be from the same kind of jar as No. 161.

162. *Neck of Mendaean(?) wine jar.* Pl. 40.
P 21988. Pres. H. 0.195 m. Most of the neck preserved, with one complete handle and the start of the other.

Similar to No. 161, but the rim is higher and set off by a distinct offset instead of a groove; the lower groove (broader than on No. 161) follows the line of a swelling in the neck; and there are no paint bands on the neck. The clay is similar to that of No. 161.

163. *Neck of wine jar, with graffito on the handle.* Pl. 40.

P 21989. Pres. H., 0.17 m. Neck, handles, and part of the shoulder preserved.

A flaring offset rim and a groove that follows the swelling round the neck correspond with No. 162; but No. 163 is otherwise different from Nos. 161-2, having narrower handles with smaller finger impressions and being altogether more roughly made.

Clay micaceous, light red to buff; surface dingy buff.

For the graffito on the handle, see also Pl. 40.

The shape is probably to be restored to resemble the Mendaean jar. I have seen a num-

ber of apparent imitations of the type, in clay much like this, in the Cyprus Museum, from the Swedish excavations, e.g. Marion, Tomb 44D, 2; Tomb 44, 48; Tomb 60, 69.

164. *Fragments of wine jar.* Pl. 40.

P 21985. Pres. H. of a) 0.115 m.; max. dim. of b) 0.075 m. Preserved, a) part of the rim and neck with handle attachment and a scrap of the shoulder, and b) the foot with an adjoining bit of the body.

Flaring rim; on neck, at center level of handle attachment, a broad groove, or roughly made offset. The shoulder came out rather abruptly from the base of the neck. The foot is a peg like an inverted truncated cone set on the rounded bottom of the body, which opens inside into a hollow in the peg.

Greenish buff clay, no mica.

Inside the foot, a black deposit with yellowish surface.

165. *Stamped fragment of handle of wine jar.* Pl. 40.

SS 11238. Th. of handle 0.023 m.; the stamp is illustrated at actual size. Preserved, the lower part of the handle and the shoulder attachment; the stamp is worn and was perhaps incompletely impressed.

Relatively broad handle, set on a shoulder of gentle slope, and stamped near the lower attachment.

Clay similar to that of No. 164.

The very faint stamp appears to represent an animal moving right, looking back left.

166. *Lower part of wine jar.* Pl. 40.

P 21986. Pres. H. ca. 0.20 m. Preserved, foot and part of lower body.

The foot is like that of No. 164, save that there are two grooves round the peg, which is rounded below.

Pinkish buff clay, with a very little mica.

Nos. 164-166 are fragments apparently of a kind of jar which in its later development is easily distinguishable by the way the broad rim

lies out on the handles. In the latter fourth century B.C. and later, many of these handles are stamped, either on their tops or near their lower attachments, with abbreviations or monograms, or devices with or without letters. A stamp earlier than No. 165 has been found on a fragment of a sixth or early fifth century jar possibly of the same series: M. T. Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 606, fig. 28 (a frog in a round stamp). No. 164a may be compared with other fifth century necks or neck fragments catalogued from dated deposits at the Agora: P 16072, second quarter; P 2068, third quarter; and P 12655, late. These are unstamped but have dipinti.

The clay of this series is buff, sometimes greenish like Nos. 164 and 165, sometimes pinkish like No. 166. It is fine-grained and has little or no mica. Characteristic features of shape are the broad handles with arched short tops and without finger impressions at the base, the broad flaring rim, a narrowing of the neck toward the shoulder. The bodies of Nos. 164 and 166 are evidently to be restored like the small jar No. 107 of this article, in the text of which there is reference to a similar, somewhat larger jar in Corinth. In the fourth century, the lower part of the body tapers to a narrow foot.

The clay suggests Corinth, and a great many jars and fragments of this class have in fact been found in Corinth. However, Corinthian tiles and other coarse ware are of a rather different fabric, the clay containing many large bits, and being often fired with a large grey core; and there exists in that fabric a series of jars (cf. M. Z. Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 302, fig. 34, nos. 199, 200; M. T. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 605, fig. 27, nos. 202, 203, 201; S. Weinberg, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXXV, E 13) not at all like the series of Nos. 164-166, the handles and rims in particular being very different. Fragments of such jars have been found in Athens, including a few scraps in the present deposit. They were sometimes stamped

with a palmette at the base of one handle—an example is Professor Weinberg's jar just cited.

It is possible that both series were made in Corinth. But an argument in favor of Corcyra can be given for the type taken as a later development of Nos. 164-166. Not uncommon on handles of this series is a circular stamp containing a seven- or eight-rayed star. One of these has been found in excavations in Corfu. In publishing it (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, p. 207, fig. 19. I owe the reference to Miss Talcott), H. Bulle points out the close similarity of the stamp with a fourth century coin type of Corcyra. Corcyrean amphoras are known from literature contemporary with the stamped examples: cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mir. auscult.*, 104, p. 839b, 8; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941, vol. 1, p. 120.

167. *Parts of a wine jar, or of two jars.* Pl. 40 and Fig. 5.

P 21984. Pres. H. of fragment a) 0.175 m.; of fragment b) 0.085 m. Preserved are a) a neck with rim, both handles, and part of the shoulder; and b) the foot of probably a similar jar.

Broad, slightly flaring rim, offset from the neck; close below it, a groove round the neck smeared over by the handle attachment. The neck narrows toward the shoulder, and is pressed together at the top by the handles. Broad rising handles that descend vertically; no finger impressions on their bases.

Fragment b) (Fig. 5) shows the bottom of a tapering body, the foot a collar hollow beneath.

Red micaceous clay, fired partly buff-grey at the core, and containing white bits. Buff surfacing outside the neck and shoulders and into the mouth, not found on fragment b which is also a little less micaceous.

The neck and handles have features of shape in common with No. 164, but the clay does not seem to belong to the "Corcyrean" class. The clay of fragment b), on the other hand, is close to that of fragment a) and the association of

this top and bottom is supported by P 18988, from a late fifth century deposit at the Agora, in which a foot of this not very common type is found on a jar with handles which are like those of No. 167 and also without finger impressions, but longer, as is the general tendency toward the end of the century; the rim of our fragment is like that of P 18988, but broader.

168. *Top of wine jar.* Pl. 40.

P 21990. Pres. H. 0.153 m.; D. of rim *ca.* 0.10 m. (uneven). Preserved, the neck, one complete handle, with part of the shoulder, and part of the other handle.

Narrow rim set off by a groove. Rather thick handles, with finger impressions.

Pinkish buff clay, micaceous and sandy. Remains of whitish surfacing.

169. *Top of wine jar.* Pl. 40.

P 21991. Pres. H. 0.227 m.; D. of rim 0.165 m. Preserved, more than half the neck, with rim, both handles, and part of the shoulder.

Heavy rim, offset from the neck and flaring upward, with broad flat top. Broad handles with finger impressions. Broad groove round the neck smeared over by the upper handle attachment; in the line of the groove, a hole through the neck, diameter 0.008 m.

Coarse clay, pitted and full of bits, fired red inside, brown outside, with remains of lighter surfacing.

170. *Handle of wine jar(?).* Pl. 40.

P 21992. Pres. H. 0.135 m. Preserved, the handle and connecting piece of body.

Small round handle set vertically on the jar; the interior body surface shows wheelmarks.

Hard-fired, rather fine dull-red clay with small white bits, buff near the surface, with remains of thin creamy slip(?).

The handle seems to come from a jar of torpedo shape like many found in Cyprus, and probably from one of the wider type in which two such handles are attached on the edge of the shoulder: the upper break indicates on the

interior a sharp return, like that at the edge of an angular shoulder. As the fragment shows some concavity in the body profile, and a slight rise above the handle, it may be from a jar like *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2, 1948, fig. LVI, no. 29 or 30. These jars are included by Gjerstad in his Class V pottery, which he dates in the late sixth and early fifth century, cf. his text pp. 198 and 497. It would then not be surprising that so little is left of this jar in the mid-fifth century despite its solid fabric. Gjerstad comments (*op. cit.*, p. 268) on the small amount of Cypriote pottery that has been reported from mainland Greece. I am not sufficiently expert to say whether this fragment is from a Cypriote torpedo jar or from one made in Palestine, where the shape is indigenous, cf. for instance J. C. Wampler, *Tell en Nasbeh*, Berkeley and New Haven, 1947, pl. 18, no. 311, a type dated (p. 10, paragraph 44) sixth and fifth centuries. In either case, it may have been looted from the King's ships after Salamis.

LAMPS

The types noted below are those distinguished by R. H. Howland in his reclassification of Greek lamps, which is now in course of publication.

171. *Lamp fragment, type 20*. Pl. 41.

L 4866. Pres. W. 0.045 m. A single fragment preserves the nozzle, with part of the wall and top; the inner edge of the top is not preserved. Short nozzle, with large wick-hole. The wall curves as in type 21, but the top is offset, and raised above the level of the wall. Black glaze, much worn.

172. *Lamp, type 21B*. Pl. 41 and Fig. 6.

L 4791. L. 0.10 m.; H. 0.02 m.; W. 0.084 m. Missing the handle, save for one root, and a fragment from the wall.

Narrow inturned rim. Low raised base. Black glaze all over, fired black to brown and partly worn.

173. *Lamp, type 21 B*. Not illustrated.

L 4785. Pres. L. 0.085 m.; pres. W. 0.082 m.; H. 0.022 m. Missing most of rim and back wall. Very low ring foot.

Rim flattened on top. Black glaze all over, except for the foot and a reserved dot at the center of the underside.

174. *Lamp, type 21 B*. Not illustrated.

L 4863. Pres. L. 0.07 m.; W. 0.075 m.; H. 0.019 m. Missing nozzle and handle; both roots remain. Low raised base. Fairly good black glaze, somewhat mottled in firing. Underside reserved.

175. *Lamp fragment, type 21 B*. Not illustrated

L 4864. Pres. W. 0.058 m. A single fragment preserves the nozzle, with a little of the rim and wall. Short nozzle, with large wick-hole, encroaching considerably on the rim. Black glaze mottled to gray and red and partly peeled.

176. *Lamp fragment, type 21 B*. Not illustrated.

L 4865. Pres. L. 0.072 m.; H. 0.018 m. A single fragment preserves the nozzle, with part of the wall and flat raised base.

Fairly short nozzle, the wick-hole encroaching somewhat on the rim. Black glaze, partly peeled; end of nozzle much grayed from burning. Underside reserved.

177. *Lamp fragment, type 21 B*. Pl. 41.

L 4867. Pres. L. 0.077 m. Two joining fragments preserve the nozzle and part of the rim and wall; bridge of nozzle broken away.

Rather flat spoon-shaped nozzle with large wick-hole. Rim curves to a fairly steep angle in lower wall. Good black glaze on nozzle and rim; dilute wash on lower wall; band at inner edge of rim reserved.

178. *Lamp, type 21 B, later variety*. Pl. 41.

L 4799. Pres. L. 0.10 m.; H. 0.023 m. Missing the handle and part of the back wall. Low

raised base, tapering toward the bottom; under-side of floor concave. Glazed all over, except resting surface, which appears to have been scraped bare. Glaze mostly good black, but partly worn and mottled. Graffito on nozzle.

179. *Lamp fragment, type 21 B(?)*. Not illustrated.

L 4870. Pres. W. 0.044 m. One small fragment preserves a little of the rim and nozzle. Rim flat on top, so far as preserved.

The clay near the edge of the wick-hole rises slightly, as if the nozzle had an upward tilt: this fact could suggest a double-bodied lamp, but there is no clear indication. Worn black glaze; a broad reserved band at the inner edge of the rim containing a black circumference line.

180. *Lamp fragment, type 21 variant*. Fig. 6.

L 4869. Pres. L. 0.064 m. One fragment from the wall and rim. The attachment of one end of a horizontal band handle and the start of the nozzle are preserved, the handle apparently on the side of the lamp at right angles to the nozzle. Raised ring at inner edge of rim.

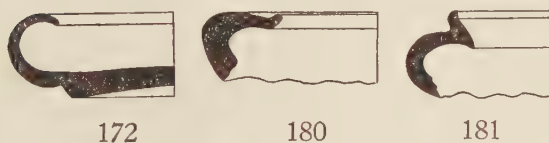


FIG. 6. Lamps. 1:2

Fairly good glaze, somewhat worn; the handle space is reserved, and there is a scraped band on the rim, just inside the raised ring.

181. *Lamp fragment*. Pl. 41 and Fig. 6.

L 4868. Pres. L. 0.085 m.; H. 0.024 m. One fragment preserves part of the nozzle and most of one side of the lamp; the profile of rim and wall is complete, but the center of the floor is lacking. Sharply convex wall; bottom apparently plain and flat. At the inner edge of the rim there is a vertical collar, about 0.012 m.

high on the inside. Soft, pale gray clay; poor thin black glaze, fired mostly gray, and much peeled.

There is no parallel in the Agora collection for the profile of this lamp. This fact, along with the character of its fabric, strongly suggests that it is non-Attic.

Fragments of at least six other lamps were noted from the well, but none from types other than those cited above.

LOOM-WEIGHTS AND SPINDLE-WHORLS

182. *Stamped pyramidal loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 893. H. 0.055 m.; W. at base 0.042 m.; weight 72 grammes. Intact save for a few chips.

Pierced once. Buff clay; the upper part dipped in reddish-brown glaze, now much worn. The sides meet to form sharp edges. On one side, near the top, an impression, perhaps made by a finger ring.

Another example from the well, uncatalogued, is glazed all over, including the bottom. Though this is unusual (cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, p. 74), there are parallels in several other loom-weights in the Agora collection.

183. *Pyramidal loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 892. H. 0.055 m.; W. at base 0.041 m.; weight 73.5 grammes. Intact. Pierced once. Buff clay.

There were seven other unglazed pyramidal loom-weights in the well. Two, of which neither is intact, were larger than No. 183, but four of the others appear to have come from the same set. They vary in weight from 71 to 77 grammes; two of them come within half a gramme of being identical.

184. *Pyramidal loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 894. H. 0.058 m.; W. at base 0.042 m.; weight 92 grammes. Intact, save that the edges are slightly worn.

specks; presumably non-Attic. Cf. the fabric of Nos. 102 and 103.

Pierced once. Slate-gray clay, with mica

185. *Pyramidal loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 897. Pres. H. 0.073 m.; weight as preserved 99.5 grammes. Missing flakes from the side and base. Rectangular in section. Pierced twice.

Greenish yellow clay, with dark specks, like that of the mortar, No. 127; the loom-weight, however, is soft and friable.

186. *Conical loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 896. Pres. H. (also the approximate original height) 0.07 m. Missing about half.

Pierced once. Low bevel at base. Pale yellow clay; smooth, hard surface. Presumably Corinthian.

The loom-weights found at Corinth have been published by Gladys Davidson in *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, pp. 146-172. No. 186 would seem to fit her type V; she dates the appearance of this type at Corinth to the early fifth century. At Athens, in the fifth century, conical loom-weights were rare (cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, pp. 76-77; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 340), but they did exist. An Agora well of the early fifth century has produced four conical Attic weights (MC 827-830) from a stamped set, with bevelled edges not unlike that of No. 186. Another Attic example, with a plain base (MC 210) comes from a deposit of the third quarter of the century; there are also two conical weights (MC 523 and MC 662), both somewhat irregularly shaped, from deposits of the end of the previous century.

187. *Lentoid loom-weight*. Pl. 41.

MC 895. D. 0.077 m. Missing about half one side.

Pierced twice. A shallow groove at the top. Buff clay, unglazed.

188. *Glazed spindle-whorl*. Pl. 41.

MC 898. Pres. H. 0.035 m.; max. D. 0.037 m. Missing the tip and chips from the base.

Rounded at the bottom, tapering toward the top. Black glaze, somewhat worn.

TERRACOTTA TILES, WATER PIPES, WELL-HEAD**189. *Pan tile*. Fig. 7.**

A 1911. Pres. L. 0.29 m.; W. 0.28 m.; H. at one side 0.065 m.; at the other 0.034 m.

The underside is quite flat. Yellowish buff clay, soft and powdery; traces of surfacing in pale white.

A 1912, not illustrated, consists of fragments of a similar tile, and the well contained many others in the same fabric, presumably Corinthian.

190. *Cover tile*. Fig. 7.

A 1913. Pres. L. 0.26 m.; pres. W. 0.12 m.

Brownish buff clay, containing bits of gravel; the surface is pitted. This fabric also was well represented.

191. *Pan tile*. Fig. 7.

A 1914. Pres. L. 0.17 m.; H. at edge 0.055 m.; at middle 0.022 m.

Pale brown clay. Firm red paint on upper surface. Flange worn. Possibly earlier than the deposit as a whole.

192. *Water pipe*. Pl. 41.

A 1915. Pres. L. 0.48 m.; max. D. outside 0.16 m.; min. D. inside 0.125 m. Missing fragments from the sides, and all of one end.

Light brown clay, with a surfacing in the same color. Two bands of reddish brown glaze, much faded: one beneath the collar at the base of the joint tongue, the other near the opposite end.

There were fragments of at least one other section of pipe, and remains also of a terracotta water channel.

193. *Terracotta well-head: drum-shaped*. Fig. 8.

A 1916. Est. H. 0.50 m.; outside D. of rim 0.75 m.; W. of rim 0.09 m.; H. of base collar 0.07 m.; D. of lifting hole 0.05 m. Numerous fragments preserve about a third of the whole.

Flat projecting rim. Plain walls, slightly thickened at the base. Remains of two circular lifting holes (the complete well-head presum-

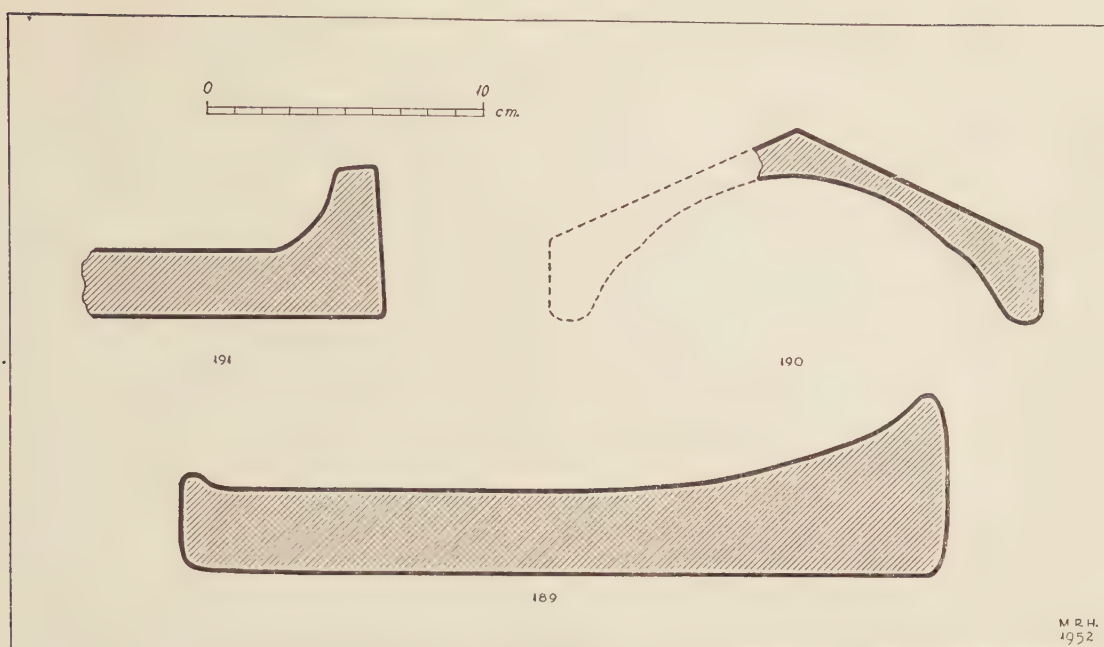


FIG. 7. Terracotta Roof Tiles.

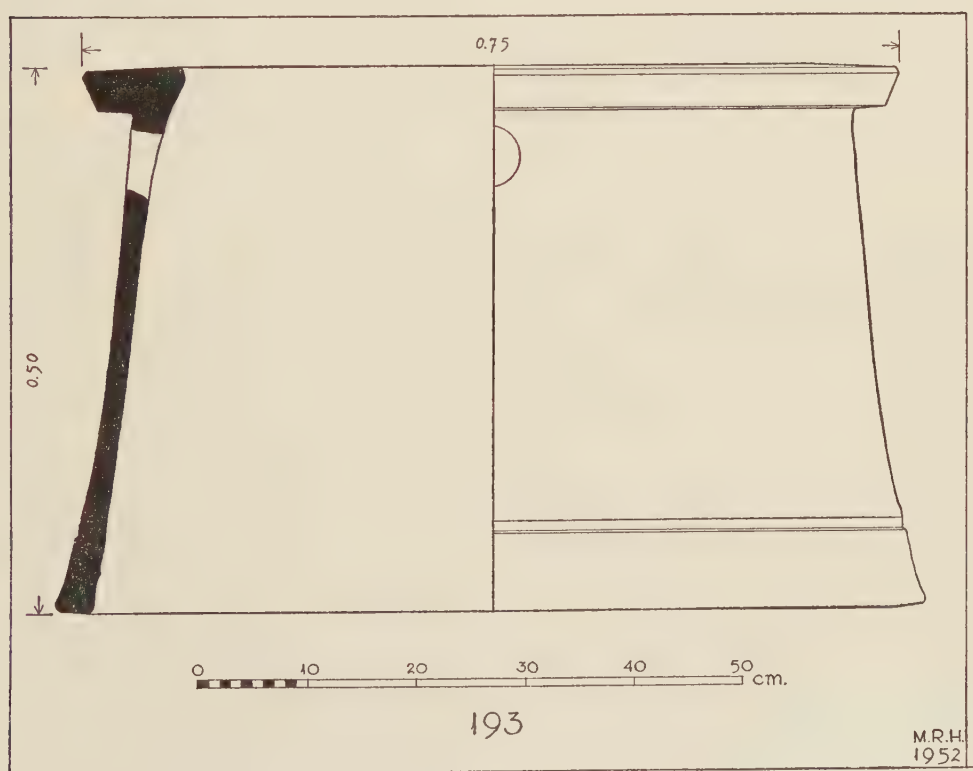


FIG. 8. Terracotta Well-head.

ably had four). Buff clay, with traces of a thick yellow surfacing, especially on the inside. Marks of wear on the inner edge of the rim.

On the type, see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 114 ff., and especially pp. 119-120. No. 193 has no exact counterpart in the series of sixth and fifth century well-heads there published. It will be noted, for example, that it lacks the ridged bands or grooves that are normally found around the upper part of the wall. The history of our well (see above pp. 60-62) requires that its well-head be dated around the middle of the fifth century, and No. 193 must take its place, therefore, at the end of the series cited above.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

194. *Section of bone flute.* Pl. 41.

BI 672. L. 0.123 m.; outside D. 0.017 m. One end is flanged, the other slightly hollowed. The flanged end is somewhat worn, and the entire section has split lengthwise. There are four finger holes, three on one side, and one on the other. The odd hole occupies a space between the second and third holes above (counting from the flanged end), but actually slightly nearer the third than the second.

195. *Worked antler fragment.* Pl. 41.

BI 673. Max. dim. 0.245 m. The antler was cut lengthwise with a saw, and only half of it remains. Two points have been removed with the same instrument. Some marks of polishing. Possibly material for making knife handles.

196. *Fragment of pumice stone.* Not illustrated.

ST 522. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Flat on one side, rounded on the other. On the rounded side is a series of incised lines, roughly parallel.

197. *Lead fragment.* Not illustrated.

IL 1259. Max. dim. 0.13 m. Weight 727 grammes. A band-like fragment, with a grayish white incrustation. On one side, near the edge, is a small hollow.

POTTERY FROM OTHER SOURCES

198. *Black-glazed skyphos.* Pl. 29.

P 17121. H. 0.075 m.; D. of rim 0.10 m. Missing only a few small fragments.

On the shape and decoration see No. 31. The glaze has fired partly red and brown. The flat upper surface of the rim is reserved, and bears groups of transverse glazed strokes. On the reserved underside of the floor there is a small glazed circle and dot.

199. *Large black-glazed stemless cup.* Fig. 2.

P 19405. H. as restored 0.075 m.; D. as restored 0.22 m.

Missing fragments of the wall and rim.

For details of the shape, see Fig. 2. Glazed all over except the underside of the floor, which is reserved, and bears two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze partly fired brown and slightly worn. See further under No. 35.

200. *Black-glazed globular lekythos.* Pl. 31.

P 8838. H. as restored 0.118 m.; D. of body 0.095 m.; of foot 0.07 m. Missing much of body and mouth; the restoration of the lip is probable, but not certain.

On the shape see No. 47. The foot is echinus-like, the shoulder sloping, the drip-ring a flat band. Good black glaze on all the outside except the bottom. Bands of applied red as follows: one on the upper edge of the drip-ring; two around the body at the level of the handle; one on the foot.

201. *Black-glazed globular lekythos.* Pl. 31.

P 10002. H. as restored 0.174 m.; D. of body 0.138 m.; of foot 0.082 m. Missing the mouth, much of the handle, and part of the neck; the mouth is restored on the analogy of P 16672, a contemporary example, where this member of the vase is wholly preserved.

On the shape see No. 47. The foot is small and the shoulder flat. Good black glaze on all the exterior except the resting surface; on the underside of the floor it is only thinly applied.

202. *Black-glazed bowl*. Fig. 3.

P 4741. H. 0.031 m.; D. 0.115 m. Missing about a third of the rim.

On the shape see No. 68 and Fig. 3. On the outside the glaze has fired red, except along the edge of the rim. A moulded ring encloses the central portion of the underside of the floor. The space within is reserved, and bears at its center a small glazed circle and dot. The balance of the underside is glazed, except for the resting surface, which is reserved. The

groove around the base of the rim is also reserved.

203. *Black-glazed oinochoe*, Shape 2. Pl. 31.

(Athens, in private possession.) H. to lip 0.15 m.; max. D. 0.107 m.; D. of base 0.068 m.

For the shape, compare No. 41. In this example the fabric is slightly heavier than in the piece from the well, and there is no scraped groove above the base. The underside of the base is reserved. The glaze, black on one side and slightly chipped, has over most of the other side fired a brilliant red.

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THE EPONYMS NAMED ON RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS

(PLATES 42-44)

LISTS of all Rhodian eponyms known from amphora stamps—as opposed to those appearing in particular sites or areas—have been assembled by F. Bleckmann, using his own and Nilsson's researches,¹ and most recently (1931) by Hiller von Gaertringen, with additions to Bleckmann's list drawn from later publications, including a fairly detailed summary of finds in south Russia published by E. Pridik in 1926.² Both of these lists include many names known only in readings made before the publication of the essential reference book, Nilsson's study which accompanies his Lindos catalogue cited in note 1. It is true that the more obviously impossible names figuring in some of these old publications had been weeded out (cf. Nilsson, p. 120), and are not listed by either Bleckmann or Hiller. But many more reasonable inventions have remained on the roster. Verification by reëxamination of particular handles alleged to bear doubted readings has almost never been attempted, a sufficient reason being that the usual storage, in a large bin or heap (cf. Pl. 44, bottom left), makes individual handles practically inaccessible. Often the published readings are almost as unavailable as the handles, being buried in back numbers of journals of small local circulation. It is, in effect, not possible to control the list by investigation of the citations: it is necessary to rewrite it as a whole, on a basis of verifiable data.

What is needed is of course a corpus publication of Rhodian stamps, in which type readings will be established by photographic illustration. It is likely to be some years before such a volume appears. But much of the material has been assembled, including a large body of controlled readings, the greater part being on file with photographs or rubbings or facsimiles. The mass of this material, and the geographical spread of its finding-places, seem sufficient to make suspect most eponyms' names not found in it. Therefore it is probably worth while to report the

¹ F. Bleckmann, "Zu den rhodischen Heliospriestern," *Klio*, XII, 1912, pp. 249 ff.; *idem.*, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis*, Göttingen, 1907; M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos*, in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909.

² Hiller von Gaertringen, in the article *Rhodos* in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, 1931, pp. 835-840; E. Pridik, "Zu den rhodischen Amphorenstempeln," *Klio*, XX, 1926, especially pp. 307-320. Hiller's list is the most recent known to me. But note that Pridik mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 320), as then under way, an extensive study by Boris Grakov on the chronology of Rhodian eponyms. I learned also in 1947 that Professor Gheorge Stefan of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest was preparing an index of amphora stamps; this would be of particular interest as including the finds from Rumania.

list which against this background now appears valid, although the evidence cannot be presented here.

The material on file includes about 12,500 unpublished Rhodian handles from Athens, Corinth, Delos, Alexandria, Cyprus, Antioch, and Samaria, and a few other places with smaller collections, also above 2000 readings taken from particularly meticulous and reliable publications.³ Nilsson's Lindos catalogue, about 3000 more handles, has not yet been incorporated into our files, but has been consulted in the construction of the new list. Reference has also been made to Pridik's summary of 4764 handles found in south Russia (cited in note 2), which, however, as he states, is based partly on copies made earlier by others. Finally, I have used a list, kindly given to me by Mr. Loukas Benachi, of eponyms occurring on his very large private collection of handles found in Alexandria, much of which is not yet on file with us.⁴

³ The greater part taken from publications come from two books: C. Schuchhardt, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, II, Berlin, 1895, pp. 423-499; and E. Pridik, *Inventory-catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphorae, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection*, Petrograd, 1917, pp. 1-34, 132-136.

Except for the material from Samaria, the readings of unpublished stamps on file have been made and tabulated by myself or by others working with me, usually from the actual handles, though sometimes when this was not possible from photographs or rubbings. The readings from Samaria, 1150 or more, were made by Mrs. Silva Lake, who very kindly gave me photostats of her minuscule copies.

Readings of two doubted names, Aristion and Epicharmos, have been kindly supplied to me by Mr. George Dontas of the Archaeological Service in Rhodes, from handles found in excavations in Rhodes in 1952. I have not yet seen photographs or rubbings of these handles, hence list the names with stars; but I have no doubt that they should be included. Both names appear with the title "priest." The name Hippokles has also been added on the basis of information supplied by Mr. Dontas.

On the text figures of 12,500 handles on file and 25,000 handles which form the broader basis of our list, it will be remembered that only about half of these bear the names of eponyms, since ordinarily on Rhodian amphoras one handle has the eponym's name, the other the fabricant's: see Pl. 42.

⁴ Mr. Benachi's collection has not been counted. In the total of about 12,500 unpublished Rhodian handles stated to be on file, the figure for Alexandria is set at about 3500, and includes just under 700 Rhodian handles from the Museum collection, recorded by me in 1939 (the greater part with photographs), plus an estimated additional 2800 from the Benachi collection, tabulated at the Agora Excavations in Athens from excellent rubbings, sometimes also from photographs, sent to us by Mr. Benachi. I last saw his collection in December 1951, and consider that 6000 is a conservative estimate of his Rhodian handles, on which are based his lists of fabricants and of eponyms. Because there were certain names among the latter which I had not seen on handles, or on photographs or rubbings of the stamps, Mr. Benachi has, during the autumn of 1952, reexamined in the interests of our list most of his handles with the names of eponyms, and has sent me photographs establishing the actuality of a number of names: cf. Pl. 43, c and d (No. 26) and Pl. 44, b, d and e (Nos. 75, 118) for some of these.

On material found in Alexandria, I have checked also with Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch Griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, III, 1 (1926), 6320-6524, taken from Breccia's report of 1921. According to an estimate, again made in December 1951, the total number of Rhodian

For probably more than 25,000 stamps we thus have records which, while needing further illustration, verification, and study, are informed and as a whole reliable.

The list of eponyms which results is much reduced from Hiller's 309 plus sundry unnumbered tentative additions. A minor part of the difference is accounted for 1) by the listing by Hiller of a few eponyms from inscriptions whose names do not appear on handles, and 2) by his listing several names twice as each belonging to two different years. Names certainly did recur, and to a much greater extent than he suggests: for instance, we can distinguish at least three widely separated terms of eponyms named Pausanias.⁵ But this problem is part of that of the chronology in general; and much further study is necessary before a useful statement can be made. I have therefore omitted all indications of repeated names. Additions will be made to the new list in the course of time. Many names here listed, particularly those on handles of noticeably early or late fabric, are known in very few examples; so that it is quite probable that one or two names now known only from the old publications will turn out to have been based on correct readings. Whether the additions are completely new names or confirmations of some at present rejected, they should be supported by photographs. It is anticipated that a few new names will be drawn from among early stamps on which the eponym appears without the preposition, like those naming Philonidas and Peithiadas on Plate 42, I b and Plate 43, b; the present edition of the list includes only names with which the preposition does sometimes occur.

On the chronology, time does not permit the assembling here of existing evidence for the individual names, but some general statements may be made. The duration of the issue of Rhodian amphoras stamped with names (rather than merely devices unaccompanied by letters) seems to have been from about the last quarter of the 4th century to some time in the 1st century B.C. I am not as yet able to name a Rhodian stamped handle found in an excavation deposit to be dated certainly before 300 B.C. But the amphora of Zenon found in Thompson's Hellenistic Group B, datable early

handles in the Alexandria museum is somewhere about 13,000. These presumably include those reported by Breccia in 1921, but for most of them there apparently exist no controlled readings, or no readings at all. The bulk are kept in a long bin, and here the estimate is based on measurement, allowing 3000 handles to the cubic meter. I have guessed that the Rhodian will be 85 per cent of the total, as was the case with the 700 handles read by me in 1939.

On the importance of the Museum collection, and on its state of publication, the best comment remains that of Nilsson, in his long note, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44. It is hoped that means will be found in the next few years to make the adequate record of this collection which is essential to a proper corpus of Rhodian stamps.

⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 224-5, where two terms are distinguished, one in the third century and the other in the second quarter of the second. Two terms are now distinguishable in the third century, one at about the beginning, the other probably in the third quarter, in addition to the second-century term. Note that this eponym name, described by Hiller as the commonest of all, does not occur at all in the Pergamon deposit. On Kallikrates, another obviously repeated name, see *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, p. 525.

in the 3rd century,⁶ appears to be by no means at the beginning of the series as now understood. For the other end, a few Rhodian amphoras have been found in Sulla-destruction fills in the Athenian Agora, and a handle (CP 1812) of particularly late appearance has been found in Corinth, thus possibly indicating for Thrasy machos, the eponym named on it, a date of about 44 B.C., when the colony was founded.⁷ Excavation finds known to me do not suggest a date later than this for any Rhodian amphora stamps in which there are names. Individual dates have been proposed for the names occurring on Rhodian handles found in Tarsos⁸ and in Delos;⁹ see these publications also for an account of the general basis for dating Rhodian stamps. But these individual dates are not only more or less tentative, but also partial, because of the recurrence of the same names at various periods. Note that many of the guesses recorded in Hiller's list are now known to be wrong, though the date attributed to the Pergamon deposit, ca. 220-180, seems as a whole to stand. The appearance of stamp and handle—better still, of a whole jar, if such exists—are always to be taken into account in estimating a date. The direction of development is that sketched in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 214, with plate II, nos. 4 and 5; cf. also pp. 203-4. The reader may more conveniently refer to Plate 42 of the present article, where I have illustrated the jar (III) of Epikrates (?) dated in the term, hitherto unrecorded, of Bakchios (?); and a jar (I) of Hieroteles in the term of Philonidas, with stamps like that naming the new eponym Peithiadas (Pl. 43, b [No. 132]); and a jar (II) of Diskos in the term of Xenophanes, month Thesmophorios, which falls between the other two. Left to right, they are datable probably 1) late 4th century, 2) late 3rd century and 3) 1st century B.C.¹⁰ The widely recognized angular Rhodian handle begins in the latter

⁶ For the finding-place, see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332. The Rhodian amphora is SS 370, published with photographs of stamp and jar in the same volume of *Hesperia*, p. 202, no. 5 (the jar) and p. 235, no. 77.

⁷ Eponyms on largely-preserved Rhodian amphoras from Sulla-destruction fills at the Agora are Archembrotos, on a jar (SS 8602 plus 8691) of Menandros, and Sokrates, on a jar (SS 6790) of which the fabricant stamp is not preserved. These two jars are at an appreciably earlier stage of development than that of the jar of Epikrates (?) illustrated on Pl. 42, III, having fuller bodies and the concomitant differences in size and profile of the handles. For objects found in Corinth, it has become clear that dates between 146 and 44 B.C. cannot be absolutely excluded, although the site as a whole must have lain in ruins during that period. Cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 158, for ninety coins of the period found there; and I know of sixteen Knidian amphora handles found in Corinth which are datable at about 100 B.C.

⁸ Hetty Goldman and others, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, Volume I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 135-148.

⁹ *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 522-531. Of the 182 names in the present list, 122 occur at Delos, plus one additional name, Aristonikos, which appears to be that of an eponym, but is not known to me with the preposition.

¹⁰ Jar I is in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (inventory no. CMC 190). H. 0.80 m.; D. 0.354 m.; capacity 26,500 cc. Jar II is in the Museum in Rhodes, and is part of the Villanova find (A. Maiuri, *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica*, IV-V, 1921-1922, p. 256, XXI, no. 4534). H. 0.775 m.;

3rd century, and through the 2nd and 1st centuries the angle tends to sharpen, and handle and jar to be less carefully made. As the body of the jar narrows, in company with those of other jars of the period (Knidian, Coan, etc.), the top of the handle eventually decreases in size and shows increasing tilt, and the vertical portion is drawn in at the bottom and tends to bow out. From such unshapely vessels the eye returns with more satisfaction to the jar of Diskos, which, though apparently a factory discard, is an example of the Rhodian wine amphora at its period of greatest distinction.

These jars, evidently standard containers, now serve to date for us the eponyms by whom, when current, they were themselves dated. If, as has been assumed, these eponyms, sometimes called priests, are actually the priests of Halios, the dating authorities of the Rhodian state, then we may hope for much more precise and definite information on the chronology of early Rhodian stamps following the publication by L. Morricone of the fragmentary stele, found in Rhodes in 1944, on which is preserved part of the list of these priests.¹¹ In the notes on new eponyms which follow the present

D. 0.35 m.; capacity 25,200 cc. References for jar III are given in the note on the new eponym Bakchios (see p. 125). H. 0.827 m.; D. 0.294 m.; capacity 21,600 cc. (Capacity measurements have been taken from jars filled to the brim; but it is difficult to achieve consistent accuracy, and the figures should not be regarded as strictly reliable.) For permission to publish photographs of the three jars, I am obliged to the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Dodekanese, and to the University of Pennsylvania.

Note that months do not appear in button-shaped stamps (jar I), though they have been found (by Mrs. Lake in Samaria, and by Mr. Benachi in Alexandria) in separate stamps on the sides of handles having button stamps on top. On the button class, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 151; many names can now be added to those there listed, including that of Peithiadas, Pl. 43, b.

The combination of names on jar II has also been found on the upper part of a jar at Tarsos: see *op. cit.*, pl. 115, no. 21 a and b; the text, p. 140, gives selected references, while in the index, p. 148, a date of 200-180 B.C. is proposed for the eponym, whom however I should now be inclined to put slightly earlier. The surface of the background in the two stamps here illustrated suggests the use of a die made of wood, as remarked by Maiuri, *loc. cit.*, but it has been pointed out to me by Mr. Peter Corbett, whose study of Attic stamped ware is shortly to appear in this journal, that an effect of wood grain might be produced by a rather summary smoothing, perhaps with a piece of wood, of a soft clay surface, prior to inscribing on it the letters of the die. On these two stamps I see no evidence of splintering, or of awkwardness in cutting curved lines in a hard material. The conspicuously ruled effect is one rarely met with on amphora stamps, and possibly it was actually unacceptable. Some study of the jars in the Villanova group in the autumn of 1949 has tended to confirm a theory (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 217) that the "wall of amphorae" was made up of items that for one reason or another would not pass inspection. I hope to publish further on the group.

For photographs of other stamped Rhodian amphoras, in addition to the one cited in note 6, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 19, no. 5; Pridik, *op. cit.* in note 3 above, p. 1, fig. 1 (apparently a fractional jar); *C.V.A. Sevres*, pl. 25, 72; *Classical Journal*, May 1947, p. 448, fig. 6, the second jar from the left (correction of the text p. 449), and p. 450, fig. 8. For profile drawings of some late stamped Rhodian jars, see *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 471, nos. 17, 18, and p. 478, 56, the latter being accompanied by a number of unstamped late Rhodian jars, illustrated on the same page.

¹¹ I am very grateful to Dr. Morricone for giving me advance information on this highly important inscription, which has just been published in *Annuario*, N. S., XI-XII, 1949-1951, as Dr. Doro Levi informs me.

list, some attempt has been made at identification of stamp eponyms with persons otherwise on record. Systematic investigation of the list as a whole must await the establishment of a more detailed chronology of the stamps. Identifications proposed by others will be found through Hiller's list, and by consulting the index of Divinities and Heroes in Blinkenberg's *Lindos*, II,¹² *s. v.* Ἥλιος (p. 1176); on p. 23 of the latter work, note that Sosilas and Timarchidas depend on readings in Nilsson, and that the former is actually a fabricant, not an eponym (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 483, no. 386), while Timarchidas in Nilsson's 404 may be a misreading of Timoklidas as in his 412, 3, in an exactly similar stamp. For some new epigraphical texts mentioning the names of priests of Halios I have been given references by Mr. Peter Fraser,¹³ at whose suggestion the present list was originally prepared.

In the following list, numbers preceded by H. are those of Hiller's list of eponyms (cf. note 2); those preceded by N. are numbers in Nilsson's catalogue of the Lindos collection (cf. note 1), where fabricants and eponyms are in a single alphabetical series, but with separate numbers for fabricants and eponyms bearing the same name. As noted above, in the present list no indication is given of repeated terms of office called by the same name; further, separate numbers are not given for spelling variations of the same name. Eponyms are known to me in photographs (mostly), or at least in rubbings, except for those marked with an asterisk.* These remain for the present more or less in doubt, although for each one there seemed to be grounds for including it tentatively in this list. For instance, Antimachos, Aristokrates, and Sosiphilos, though without much other support, are all read with little or no restoration in the Lindos catalogue. Aristokles is known to me in a reading only in a single example in an unreliable publication;¹⁴ but four examples, in a variety of types, are listed by Pridik from south Russia (*op. cit.* in note 2, p. 310). Polites is rejected by Nilsson (p. 95, note 3) from the Rhodian list, but without taking into account no. 1165 of the Pergamon catalogue (*op. cit.* in note 3), on which it seems to be read clearly. More dubious is Eudoros, which is possibly, wherever it is read, an error for Theudoros.¹⁵ Finally, the omission here (see above, p. 118) of names listed by Hiller which are known in inscriptions but not (to me at least) on handles cuts out from the present list the following known priests of Halios (I give Hiller's numbers): Antisthenes (45), Archestratos (88), Diogenes (116), Diokles (117), Menes-

¹² C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions*, Berlin and Copenhagen, 1941.

¹³ P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, Oxford, 1953: Inscription no. 8 (p. 6) is dated in the term of Aristeidias; Inscription no. 15 (p. 24) in the term of Peisistratos; Inscription no. 16 (p. 28) in the term of Hagesippos. All these eponyms are in our list, and do appear on handles of dates sufficiently consistent with the dates proposed for the inscriptions with the same names. Note also the inscription of Hyllarima(?) in Caria, which apparently names the Rhodian eponym Agloumbrotos: see *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 353, on line 8; and L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, p. 514, note 2. I should be grateful for references to other epigraphical or literary mentions of Rhodian eponyms, not to be found through Hiller's or Blinkenberg's works cited.

¹⁴ I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XI, 1885, p. 393, no. 5054. This amphora has not been identified in recent investigations; see *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 144-147.

¹⁵ I am grateful to Professor Henry S. Robinson for checking such an error for me in Delos.

theus (211), Xenotimos (230), Pythannas (253), and Phanostratos (297). Of these, Pythannas is too early to be found on stamps, while most of the rest are probably too late.

Eponyms included here that are not listed (or not numbered) by Hiller are marked with a †. On these, notes are given at the end, following the list.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. (H. 2; N. 8) | Ἀγέμαχος | 36. (H. 57) | Ἀρίσταρχος |
| 2. (H. 3; N. 9) | Ἀγέστρατος | 37. (H. 59-60; N. 82) | Ἀριστείδας |
| 3. (H. 4) | Ἀγήμων | 38. (H. 61; N. 84) | Ἀριστεύς |
| 4. (H. 7) | Ἀγησίλας * | 39. (H. 64; N. 86) | Ἀριστίων * |
| 4. bis (H. 8) | Ἀγησίλοχος | 40. (H. 66; N. 94) | Ἀριστόβουλος |
| 5. (H. 10; N. 16) | Ἀγήσιππος | 41. (H. 67; N. 97) | Ἀριστόγειτος |
| 6. (H. 11) | Ἀγησις | 42. (H. 68-9; N. 98) | Ἀριστογένης |
| 7. (H. 12) | Ἀγλούκριτος (Ἀγλω-) | 43. (H. 70; N. 99) | Ἀριστόδαμος |
| 8. (H. 13; N. 17) | Ἀγλούμβροτος | 44. (H. 72-3) | Ἀριστοκλῆς * |
| (7.) (H. 14; N. 18) | Ἀγλώκριτος | 45. (H. 74; N. 102) | Ἀριστοκράτης * |
| 8. bis (H. 16) | Ἀγλώχαρτος | 46. (H. 75; N. 105) | Ἀριστόμαχος |
| 9. (H. 17; N. 20) | Ἀγοράναξ | 47. (H. 76; N. 106) | Ἀριστομβροτίδας |
| 10. (H. 18; N. 21) | Ἀγριος | 48. (H. 77; N. 108) | Ἀριστομένης |
| 11. (H. 19; N. 25) | Ἀθανόδοτος | 49. (H. 78; N. 109) | Ἀριστόνομος |
| 12. | Ἀθανόδωρος † | 50. (H. 79; N. 111) | Ἀριστόπολις |
| 13. (H. 20; N. 27) | Ἀθανόφιλος | 51. (H. 80; N. 112) | Ἀριστοφάνης * |
| 14. (H. 22; N. 30) | Ἀινησίδαμος | 52. (H. 81; N. 113) | Ἀρίστρατος |
| 15. (H. 23; N. 31) | Ἀινήτωρ | 53. (H. 82; N. 115) | Ἀρίστων |
| 16. (H. 24; N. 33) | Ἀίσχινας | 54. (H. 83) | Ἀριστωνίδας |
| 17. (H. 25; N. 34) | Ἀίσχυλῖνος | 55. (H. 84; N. 120) | Ἀρμοσίλας |
| 18. (H. 26; N. 35) | Ἀκεστίδας, or Ἀκεστίας | 56. (H. 87; N. 131) | Ἀρχέμβροτος |
| 19. (H. 28; N. 37) | Ἀλεξιάδας | 57. (H. 89; N. 132) | Ἀρχίβιος |
| 20. (H. 30; N. 39) | Ἀλεξίμαχος | 58. (H. 90, 91; | |
| (22.) (N. 46, 9) | Ἀνανδρος for | N. 133, 134) | Ἀρχίδαμος |
| | Ἀν(άξ)ανδρος | 59. (H. 93; N. 135) | Ἀρχιλαΐδας |
| 21. (H. 33; N. 45) | Ἀναξάγορας | 60. (H. 94; N. 136) | Ἀρχῖνος |
| 22. (H. 34; N. 46) | Ἀνάξανδρος (*Ἀνανδρος) | 61. (H. 97; N. 137) | Ἀρχοκράτης |
| 23. (H. 35; N. 47) | Ἀναξίβουλος | 62. (H. 100-1; N. 141) | Ἀστυμήδης |
| 24. (H. 38; N. 49) | Ἀνδρίας | 63. (H. 102; N. 142) | Αὐτοκράτης |
| 25. (H. 40-41; N. 52) | Ἀνδρόνικος | 64. | Βάκχ[ιος] † |
| 26. (H.—not | | 65. (H. 105; N. 151) | Γόργων |
| numbered) | Ἀντιλέων † | 66. (H. 106; N. 156) | Δαήμων |
| 27. (H. 42; N. 54) | Ἀντίλοχος | 67. (H. 107; N. 159) | Δαμαίνετος |
| 28. (H. 43; N. 56) | Ἀντίμαχος * | 68. (H. 108) | Δαμάτριος |
| 29. (H. 44; N. 58) | Ἀντίπατρος | 69. (H. 109; N. 163) | Δαμόθεμις |
| 30. | Ἀπατο(ύριος) † * | 70. (H. 110; N. 164b) | Δαμοκλῆς |
| 31. (H. 47) | Ἀπολλώνιος * | 71. (H. 111; N. 166) | Δαμοκράτης |
| 32. (H. 50; N. 68) | Ἀρατοφάνης | 71. bis (H. 112) | [Δα]μοσθένης |
| 33. (H. 51; N. 70) | Ἀρετακλῆς | 72. (H. 115; N. 170) | Δάμων |
| 34. (H. 54-5; N. 76) | Ἀρίστακος | 73. (H. 118; N. 178) | Διονύσιος |
| 35. (H. 56; N. 78) | Ἀριστάναξ | 74. (H. 120; N. 183) | Δορκυλίδας |

75.	Δράκων †	111.	(H. 195; N. 278)	Κληνόστρατος (Κλενο-)
76. (H. 124)	Ἐξάκεστος	(107.)	(N. 279)	Κλιτόμαχος
76. bis (H. 126)	Ἐπίχαρμος *	112.	(H. 196; N. 282)	Κρατίδας
77. (H. 127-8; N. 199)	Ἐστιαῖος	113.	(H. 198; N. 284)	Λαφείδης
	(Ἐστιεῖος, Ἰστέιος)	114.	(H. 199; N. 285)	Λεοντίδας
78. (H. 129; N. 200)	Εὐάνωρ	115.		Λύκων †
79. (H. 130; N. 202)	Εὐδαμος	116.	(H. 201; N. 287)	Λύσανδρος
80. (H. 131)	Εὐδωρος *	117.	(H. 217; N. 320)	Μυτίων
81.	Εὐκλείδας Χάρμευς †	118.		Ναύσικος †
82. (H. 132-3; N. 205)	Εὐκλῆς	119.	(H. 218; N. 322)	Ναύσιππος
83. (H. 134; N. 207)	Εὐκράτης *	120.	(H. 221; N. 329)	Νικασαγόρας
84. (H. 135; N. 209)	Εὐκρατίδας	121.	(H. 223; N. 332)	Νικόμαχος
84. bis	Εὐπόλεμος †	122.	(H. 225; N. 333)	Νίκων
85. (H. 139; N. 214)	Εὐφρανορίδας	123.	(H. 226; N. 335)	Ξενόρετος
86. (H. 140; N. 212)	Εὐφράνωρ	124.	(H. 228; N. 337)	Ξενόστρατος
87. (H. 143; N. 216)	Ἐχέβουλος	125.	(H. 231; N. 340)	Ξενοφάνης
88. (H. 144; N. 220)	Ζηνόδοτος	126.	(H. 232)	Ξενοφάνης Ἐρώνος
89. (H. 145; N. 223)	Ἡραγόρας	127.	(H. 233; N. 341)	Ξενοφάντος
(92.) (H. 148; N. 227)	Θάρανδρος	128.	(H. 234; N. 342)	Ξενοφών
90. (H. 149; N. 228)	Θαρσίπολις	129.	(H. 235; N. 344)	Ὀνάσανδρος
91. (H. 150; N. 229)	Θεαίδητος (Θήδητος)	130.	(H. 238; N. 348)	Πασιφών
92. (H. 155; N. 233)	Θέρσανδρος (Θάρσ-)	131.	(H. 239; N. 352)	Πανσανίας
93. (H. 157; N. 236)	Θέστωρ	132.		Πειθιάδας †
94. (H. 158)	Θευγένης	133.	(H. 241; N. 353)	Πεισίστρατος
95. (H. 160; N. 238)	Θεύδωρος	134.	(H. 243)	Πολίτης *
96. (H. 163; N. 240)	Θευφάνης	135.	(H. 244; N. 357)	Πολυάρατος
(91.)	Θήδητος	136.	(H. 247)	Πολυκλῆς
97. (H. 167; N. 244)	Θρασύδαμος	137.	(H. 248; N. 358)	Πολυκράτης
98. (H. 168)	Θρασύμαχος	138.	(H. 252)	Πολύχαρμος
99. (H. 172; N. 246)	Ἰασικράτης	139.	(H. 253; N. 362)	Πρατοφάνης
100. (H. 173)	Ἰάσων	140.		Πρωτογένης †
101. (H. 176; N. 253)	Ἰέρων	141.	(H. 254; N. 365)	Πυθογένης
101. bis (H. 178)	Ἰπποκλῆς *	142.	(H. 255; N. 367)	Πυθόδωρος
(77.) (N. 257)	Ἰστέιος	143.	(H. 256; N. 368)	Πυθόκριτος
102. (H. 180; N. 262)	Καλλιάναξ	144.	(H. 257; N. 373)	Σθενέλας
103. (H. 181; N. 263)	Καλλικράτης	145.	(H. 258; N. 374)	Σιμίας
104. (H. 182; N. 265)	Καλλικρατίδας	146.	(H. 259; N. 376)	Σιμυλῖνος
105. (H. 183; N. 267)	Καλλιέεινος	147.	(H. 262; N. 379)	Σύμμαχος
106. (H. 186; N. 272 bis)	Κλέαρχος	148.	(H. 263; N. 381)	Σώδαμος
107. (H. 187, 188)	Κλειτόμαχος (Κλιτο-)	149.	(H. 264; N. 383)	Σωκράτης
(111.)	Κλενόστρατος	150.	(H. 267; N. 385)	Σωσικλῆς
(110.)	Κλεόνεμος	151.	(H. 268; N. 389)	Σωσίφιλος *
108. (H. 190; N. 274)	Κλεῦδικος	152.	(H. 269; N. 391)	Σώστρατος
109. (H. 191; N. 275)	Κλευκράτης	153.	(H. 270; N. 396)	Σωχάρης
109. bis	Κλεῦτιμος †	(157.)		Τειμαγόρας
110. (H. 194; N. 277)	Κλεώνυμος (Κλεόνεμος)	(159.)		Τειμασαγόρας

154. (H. 271; N. 398)	Τεισαγόρας (Τισ-)	165. bis	Τιμῶναξ †
155. (H. 273; N. 418)	Τεισαμενός (Τισ-)	(154.)	Τισαγόρας
156. (H. 275)	Τελέσων	(155.)	Τισαμενός
157. (H. 276; N. 401)	Τιμαγόρας (Τειμ-)	166. (H. 293; N. 420)	Φαινίλας
158. (H. 279; N. 405)	Τίμαρχος	167. (H. 299)	Φιλίνος
159. (H. 280, 281; N. 406)	Τιμασαγόρας (Τειμ-)	168. (H. 301; N. 424)	Φιλόδαμος
160. (H. 284; N. 409)	Τιμόδικος	169. (H. 302; N. 426)	Φιλοκράτης
161. (H. 285; N. 411)	Τιμόθεος	170. (H. 303-4; N. 430-1)	Φιλώνδας, Φιλωνίδας
162. (H. 286; N. 412)	Τιμοκλείδας	171. (H. 306; N. 436)	Χαρμοκλῆς
163. (H. 287; N. 413)	Τιμοκλῆς	171. bis	Χρυσάων †
164. (H. 291)	Τιμόστρατος	172. (H. 307)	Χρυσάωρ
165. (H. 292; N. 416)	Τιμούρροδος	173. (H. 309)	Χρυσόστρατος

† NEW EPONYMS

No pretence is made of exhaustive investigation of any of these names. Such investigations will shortly be much easier and more effective, since a Rhodian Prosopographia is being prepared and is to be published in a year or two by Pugliese Carratelli, as I have been informed by Dr. Doro Levi.

12. Athanodoros. Pl. 44. Single example known, Athens, Agora SS 4107, handle with part of the rim:

Ἐπὶ Ἀθανο-
δώρον de-
[vice]

The handle was not found in a closed deposit, but was accompanied by much early Roman pottery. Its fabric suggests the late 2nd century B.C. Although the name is not otherwise recorded on Rhodian stamps, it is well established as Rhodian: see C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions*, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, in the index of Greek names, where a possible identification (so far as dates go) may be made with Ἀθανόδωρος Ἀγήμωνος, priest of Athana Lindia in 128 B.C. Mr. Peter Fraser proposes another possible identification, with Ἀθανόδωρος Εὐφράτου damiorgos of Kamiros in 146 B.C.: see J. Benediktsson, *Chronologie de deux Listes de Prêtres Kamiréens*, Copenhagen, 1940, p. 28. However,

the fabric of the handle, and, I should suppose, the letter forms, probably preclude a date earlier than the last quarter of the century for the eponym named on this handle.

26. Antileon. Pl. 43. Two handles impressed with the same stamp, in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

ιερεὺς
Ἀντι-
λέων
(retr.)

The style of handles and stamp suggests a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century. A better-known early eponym, Agrios, is named in a similar stamp, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 357, no. 21. For the smooth breathing in the title, see Nilsson, p. 148; and Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* p. 62. Antileon is listed by Hiller, but not given a number. I have no record of the name on Rhodian stamps except from Alexandria.

30. Apato(urios). Single example, on a jar of Eukratidas of which the top with both stamped handles preserved was found in Rhodes: see Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 269 with figure 10 (drawings of the neck and handles and of both stamps). The name may have been omitted by Hiller because he doubted the Rhodian make of the amphora. But finds in Rhodes in 1952 (of which Dr. Kondis kindly permitted me to have photographs made) tend to confirm the attri-

bution. See also Maiuri's commentary; but the date should be 4th century in my opinion. Mr. Fraser remarks that the name is common in Kamiros, and suggests a possible identification with Ἀπατούριος Φίλωνος, priest of Athana Polias in 311 B.C.: see Benediktsson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Some doubt however attaches to Maiuri's reading, in view of a probable duplicate of his stamp found recently by Mr. Dontas in Rhodes, and read by him not Ἀπατο but Ἀρατο which I would take to be an abbreviation of Ἀρατοφάνης. I have seen only the minuscule reading, with indication of the relative position of the letters and of the shape of the stamp. An eponym Aratophanes is not known to me on handles before the second century, but one cannot exclude the possibility of an earlier homonym.

64. Bakch[ios]. Pl. 42, III b. Single example, on a jar of Epikrates (?) illustrated Pl. 42, III, with its fabricant stamp Pl. 42, III a, inventory no. SH 48 of the Kourion Excavations in Cyprus. The two stamps may tentatively be read:

a.) Ἐπικρά[τεως]
rose

b.) Ἐπὶ Βακχ[ίου]
rose

The jar is from the necropolis of Ayios Er-moyenis, for which see G. H. McFadden, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 449-489, Tomb 5 (in which this jar was found) being mentioned on pp. 452, 454. The shape of the jar indicates probably the 1st century B.C.

The name is not otherwise known as that of a Rhodian eponym. It must therefore be considered uncertain until a more complete example is found; but it is difficult to see how else to restore the name in the photograph.

On Bakchios as a fabricant's name, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 4. Although not common, it is well established by stamps in the Benachi collection, of several of which Mr. Benachi has sent me rubbings. They are rose stamps, but larger than that shown in Plate 43, IIIb, being 0.035 and more in diameter. A

published example turns out to be *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pl. XXIII, 29, which I mis-read in the text, p. 538: it actually reads [B]ακχίου; this name should be added to the list of Rhodian fabricants on p. 526, and Ἀρχιος deleted. The fabricant Bakchios probably dates before the end of the second century B.C.

For record of a Rhodian Bakchios of the first century B.C., cf. *I.G.*, XII, 1, 46, 151.

75. Drakon. Pl. 44. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

[Ἐ]πὶ Δράκοντο[s]
[Ἀγρία]γίου

The shape of the handle suggests a date in the 1st century B.C.: in profile it shows somewhat more rise and sharpness than does the handle naming Nausikos (Pl. 44, e). The name is rare in Rhodes. I have not seen the name cited in Rhodian documents earlier than the period of the handle. Mr. Fraser refers me to a considerably later priest of Helios of this name: see *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 217-18, the last inscription, datable in the second or third century after Christ.

81. Eukleidas Charmeus. Pl. 43. Two handles in the National Museum, Athens. Both seem to read, though with different arrangement,

Ἐπὶ Εὐκλείδα τοῦ Χάρμευς

Note the Rhodian rose in one type, Plate 43, g. Plate 43 shows also the profile of the handle of f. Fabric suggests a date rather late in the 3rd century B.C.

The shape of these two handles, and the device shown on g., are characteristic Rhodian features, but the clay is not quite characteristic, being darker in color and somewhat micaceous. It seems possible that the jars were not actually Rhodian, but made in a subject state.

Note that a patronymic appears with only one other Rhodian eponym, No. 126 of the present list.

84 bis. Eupolemos. Photograph received too late to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

Ἐπ' ἱερέως
Εὐπολέμ[ου]

The shape of the handle suggests a date in the 1st century B.C. Many persons of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1074, including one who was priest of Athana Lindia in 83 B.C.

109 bis. Kleutimos. Photograph received too late to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

Ἐπὶ Κλευ
τίμου
Σμινθίου

The appearance of the handle suggests a date in the latter 2nd century B.C. Several persons of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1094.

115. Lykon. Pl. 44, c which is SS 3727 of the Agora excavations, Athens:

Ἐπὶ Λύκω[ν]
ος Στύρα[ξ]

Two stamp types are known that name Lykon, in a total of four examples: (1) Agora SS 3440; (2) SS 2225, SS 3727, and a handle in the Benachi collection in Alexandria. The Agora handles were found in Late Roman or later fillings; their fabric suggests the (early) first century B.C. The type not illustrated contains only the preposition and the name of the eponym. Note that the name is not listed by Nilsson, p. 86. A Lykon is father of Aleximbrotidas and Philokrates, priests of Athana Lindia in 69 and 66 B.C.; see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

118. Nausikos. Pl. 44, d and e. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria.

[Ἐπὶ] Ναυσίκο[ν]
[Πα]νάμον

The shape of the handle suggests the 1st century B.C. Several Lindians of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, including one who was *archierohtyas* in 74 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 626, no. 299 C, l. 23).

132. Peithiadas. Pl. 43, a and b, both handles from Athens, respectively Agora SS 7819, and Kerameikos 49. The latter is apparently from a jar of Hieroteles (cf. Pl. 42, I b) and bears the name in the nominative. SS 7819 reads:

Ἐπὶ Πειθιάδα (encircling)
Ἀξίου (horizontal)
monogram (incompletely preserved)

A stamp with the same two names has been found in Alexandria—cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 157, note 2 (with a comment on the stamps of Axios)—and I know of one from Samaria, and one from Delos (see *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pl. XXI, 16). A duplicate of Plate 43, b (No. 132) is in the Benachi collection. Two rectangular stamps from Samaria bear the eponym with preposition only. No dating is available from context of discovery, SS 7819 being a surface find from outside the area of the Agora excavations (from Hadrian Street). The fabric of known handles indicates an early date.

Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 653, comments on the rarity of the name.

With reference to Plate 43, b, permission has been given to me by Dr. Kübler to publish the stamps from the German excavations of the Athenian Kerameikos.

140. Protogenes. Pl. 43. Single example, Antioch P 6248-P 1592:

Ἐπὶ Πρωτογένους
rose

The handle is known to me only in the photograph. It is described in the inventory as "transitional [pre-angular], small in size, greyish brown clay with lots of fine grits." Protogenes, like Bakchios, must be considered uncertain until a better-preserved example is found.

For a brief summary of the stamped handles found at Antioch, see Hetty Goldman and others, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note 4.

165 bis. Timonax. Photograph not available in time to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria.

Ἐπ' ἱερέω[ς
Τιμόνακτ[ος
[]

I have as yet seen only a rubbing of the stamp. Mr. Benachi describes the handle as "very late," i. e. probably of the 1st century B.C., as is suggested also by the impression of the shape of its top shown by the rubbing. For the name, see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1000, no. 705, a list of names of unknown nature which the author dates tentatively in the middle of the 1st century B.C. Timonax occurs both as name and as patronymic, so that there is apparently a choice of two generations in the 1st century in which to find a possible identification with the priest named on the stamp. Blinkenberg's comment on no. 705 suggests that this stamp provides the best identification so far available of any of the names listed.

171 bis. Chrysaon. Photographs not available in time to appear in this article. Two examples known to me of apparently the same stamp, 1) on a handle in the Benachi collection, and 2) on a jar of Philostephanos now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (accession no. 28.15), but formerly part of the Cesnola collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York: see I. H. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 390, no. 5047. The readings on the two handles of the jar may be corrected from those made by Hall:

a.) Ἐπὶ Χρυσ	b.) herm
άονος Ὑα	Φιλό[σ]τεφ
κινθίου	[άου]

The name of the eponym was corrected to Chrysaor by Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 116, but in fact the *nu* is clear on the jar in Minneapolis and especially on Benachi's handle. It may of course be a graver's error. I know of no other occurrence of the name, whether or not on stamps, except that perhaps it should be restored in place of Hiller's no. 207, [Mach]aon. The jar in Minneapolis is datable by its shape in the second half of the 2nd century, rather earlier than the handles I have seen (not many) which name the established eponym Chrysaor.

ADDENDA

To the names of Rhodian eponyms appearing on stone, but not known on stamps (see above, p. 118), Mr. Fraser in a letter of February 23, 1953, adds three, subtracting one. The latter is Hiller's 116, D[ioge]nes, which he is inclined to replace with A[rte]mes, in agreement with P. Carratelli, *Studi Ciacere*, 1940, pp. 255 ff. The other two added are Aleximbrotidas, from *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 210-211, no. 48, l. 8 (early first century after Christ); and Lysistratos, from *ibid.*, p. 201, no. 33 (taken to be identical with the priest of Athana Lindia of 82 B.C.).

He also refers me to an appendix, Fraser and Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 173, devoted to the psilosis referred to under 26, p. 124 above.

Note has been made of a corrected reading in *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952: see comment on 64. I call attention also to a remarkably close numismatic parallel to the unique stamp there published pl. XXI, 13: a series of Rhodian coins of the fourth

century B.C. which have to the left of the rose a small bunch of grapes, below which is a letter *epsilon*. Cf. *British Museum Catalogue Caria*, etc. (1897), pl. XXXVI, 5, 8, 9, 10, of which the first is a gold stater, the others silver didrachms. The stater and the first of the didrachms have the *epsilon* as a single letter, while the other two have in addition a *upsilon*. In the position of the *epsilon*, and the shape of the rose (together with the absence of the incuse square present on 5 and 8), the coin 10 is perhaps most similar to the stamp, on which however I have not read a *upsilon*.

A date in the fourth century, which had been indicated by the fabric of the handle from Delos, is thus confirmed by the numismatic parallel for its stamp. It has finally also become possible to cite a Rhodian stamped handle found in fourth century context: no. 70 in the publication, now in press, of the stamped wine jar fragments from the excavations of the Pnyx, to appear in *Hesperia*, Supplement X. The stamp names the fabricant Εϋφρων and an eponym 'Αγ[in one of the uncommon early combination types.

VIRGINIA R. GRACE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS, GREECE

THE ENTRANCE TO THE AREOPAGUS

ONE of the places where Eukrates' law against tyranny (337/6) was to be set up on a stele of stone was described in the text of the decree itself as ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἀρειον Πάγον τῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσιόντι, which I have translated "by the entrance into the Areopagos, that entrance, namely, near where one goes into the Bouleuterion."¹ I believe that this translation is inexact, and, more particularly, that I should not have used the word "near." Whether εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον depends on τῆς alone, or on εἰσιόντι, or, by a construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, on them both, I am not so sure. The examples cited by Kühner-Gerth to illustrate this use of the dative participle do not show any instance in which the participle follows a repetition of an earlier demonstrative.² If the definition is read quite literally, it means "by the entrance, the one into the Areopagos, the one into the Bouleuterion, as one goes in."

If the final word εἰσιόντι is taken alone, and εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον depends on the preceding τῆς, the syntactical arrangement of the sentence offers no problem. One may be puzzled by the double definition of the entrance, but the answer to that vexing question lies in the nature of Athenian topography and is a matter of interpretation rather than of translation. One may be puzzled also by the use of εἰσιόντι alone. So used, it is superfluous after the very precise ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου. Perhaps Eukrates wished to make it beyond any question certain that the stele was put outside the entrance to the Areopagos, so that it would be by the entrance "as one went in." But it remains, in this usage, tautological. Had the stele been put inside the entrance, so that one saw it only when coming out, or by looking back when coming in, then the εἴσοδος would have been in fact an ἔξοδος and one would have expected it to be so called.

I interpreted the participle εἰσιόντι with εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον in my first translation of this passage. But this leaves τῆς unexplained,³ and it makes two entrances, at least by implication: one, that into the Areopagos; and the other, that for a man entering the Bouleuterion, this latter used to give a point of reference for the former. This doubling of the entrances seems to me illogical, and is my principal reason—perhaps even more than the syntax—for writing this additional note on the text.

Even if, by a kind of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, the verb εἰσιόντι should share with preceding τῆς a logical context in thought with εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, I believe that there was never here under consideration more than one entrance. It was the entrance into the Areopagos, and likewise it was the entrance into the Bouleuterion. The topographical problem remains unsolved, for this tells nothing about the location either of the Areopagos or of the Bouleuterion, except that they had a common entrance.⁴

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

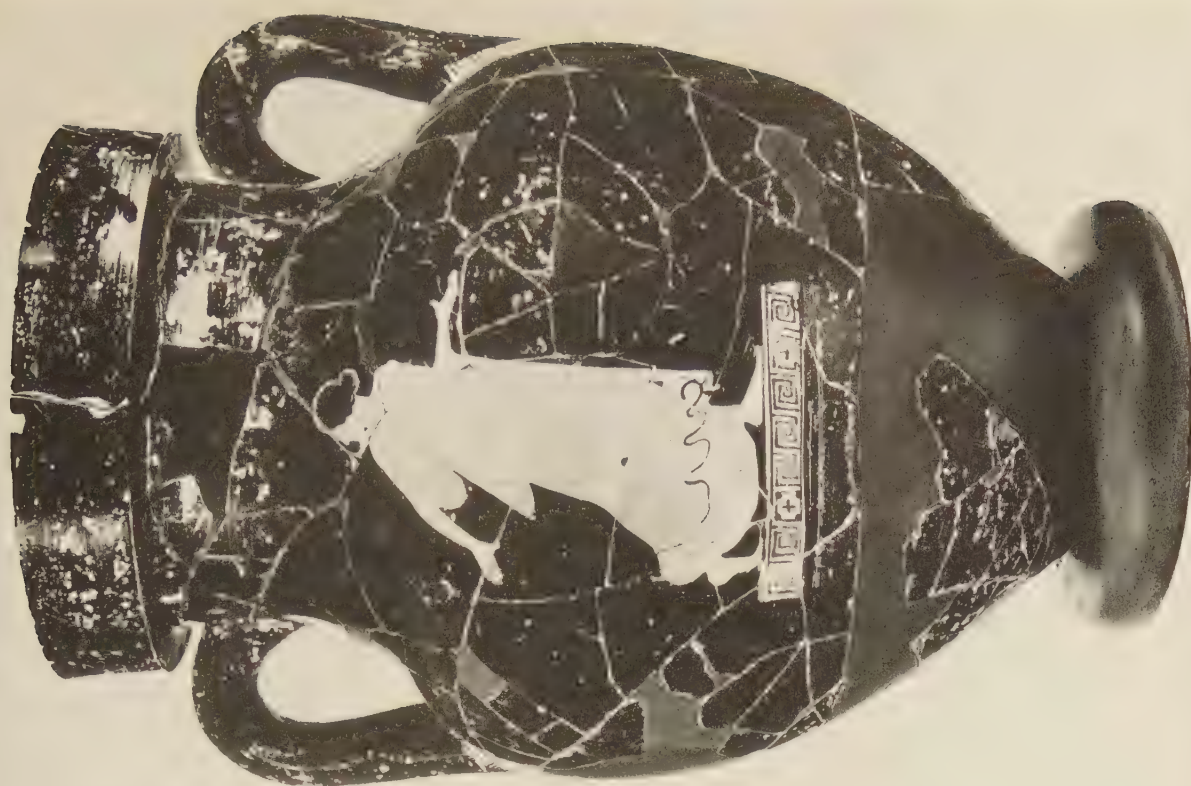
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

¹ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355-359.

² *Ausführliche Grammatik*, II, 1, pp. 423-424.

³ A difficulty upon which C. Bradford Welles has also commented to me (by letter).

⁴ See also *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 51-53.



Side B

Red-figured Amphora

CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



Side A



Side B



Side A

Fragments of Red-figured Amphoras

CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



Side A



Side B



Fragment of Red-figured Bell-krater



Side A



Side B

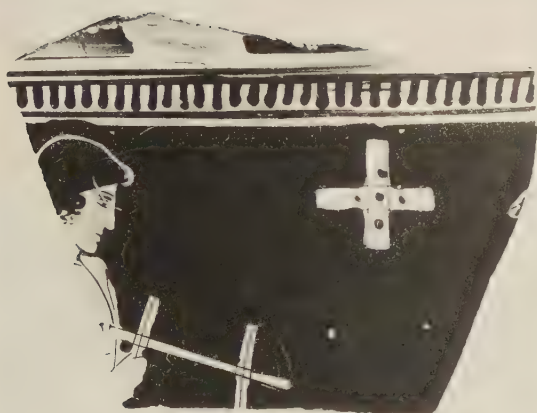
Red-figured Bell-krater



Fragments of Red-figured Bell-krater



Fragment of Red-figured Lekythos



Side A



Side B

Fragments of Red-figured Bell-krater with lugs



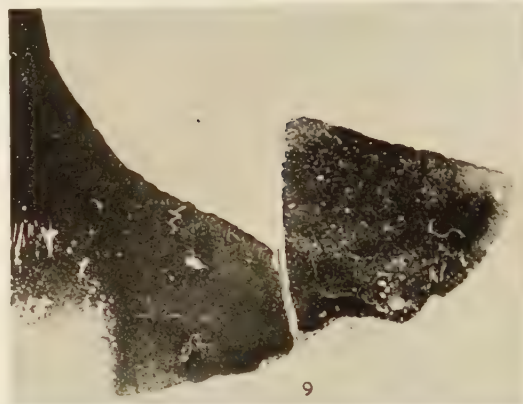
9

Red-figure Oinochoe



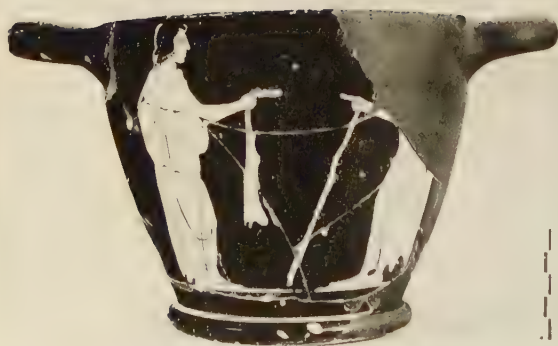
40

Red-figure Oinochoe



9

Detail to show Inscription



44

Side A



44

Side B

Red-figure Skyphos

CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



Red-figured Kantharos



Fragments of Red-figured Squat Lekythos



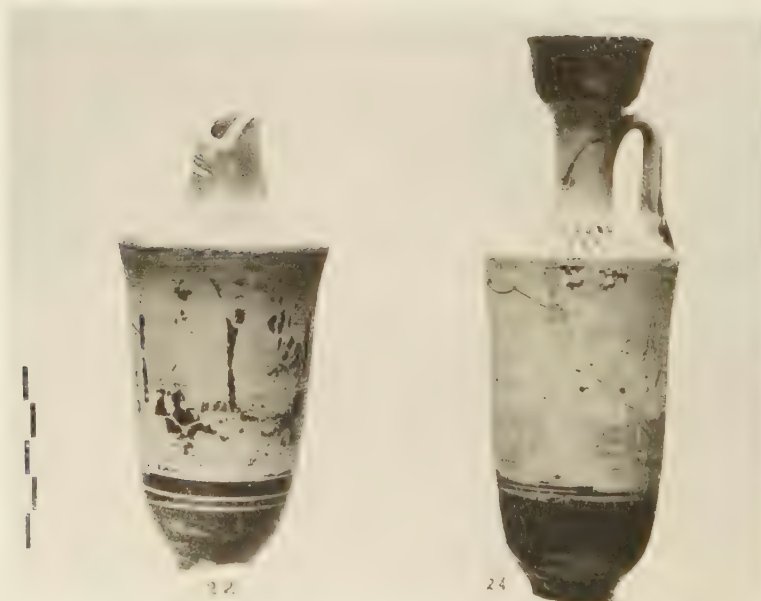
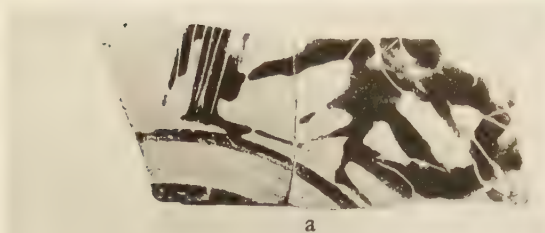
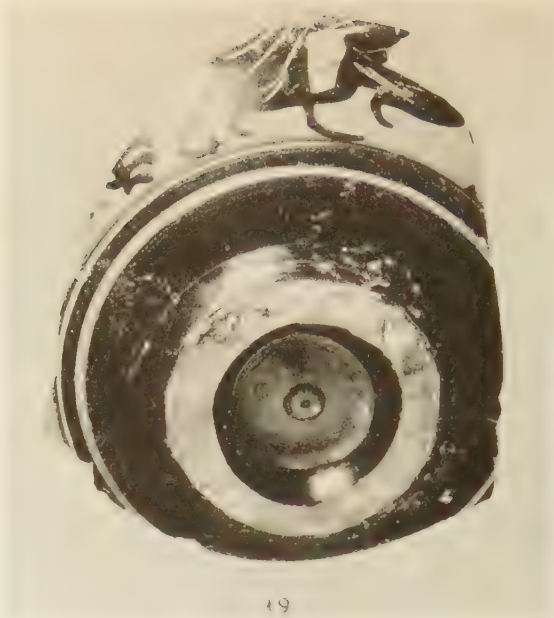
Fragment of Red-figured Stemless Cup



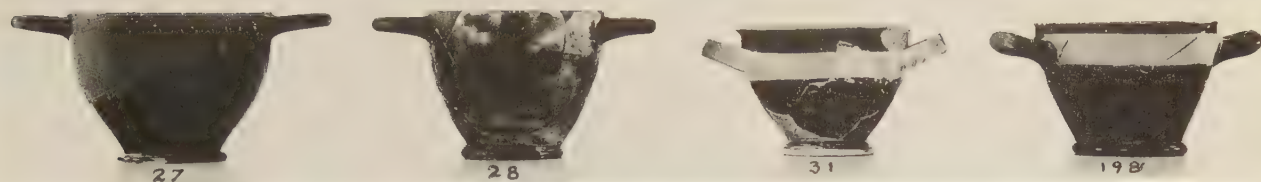
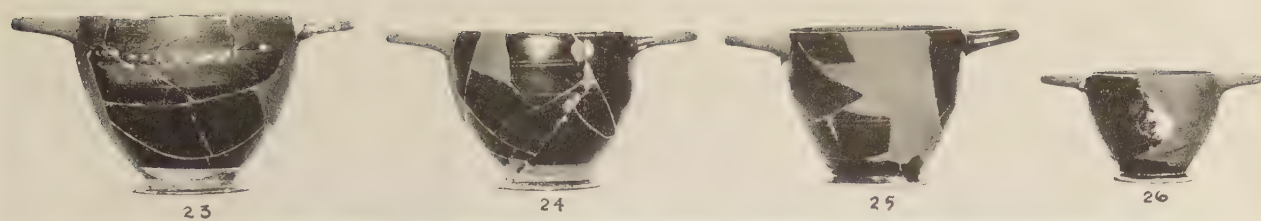
Fragment of Red-figured Cup



Fragment of Red-figured Glaux



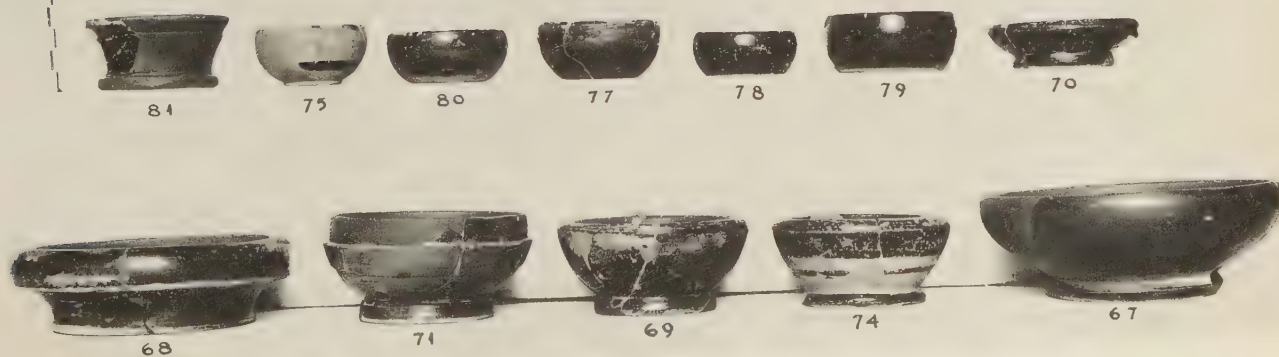
Black-figured Vases and Fragments



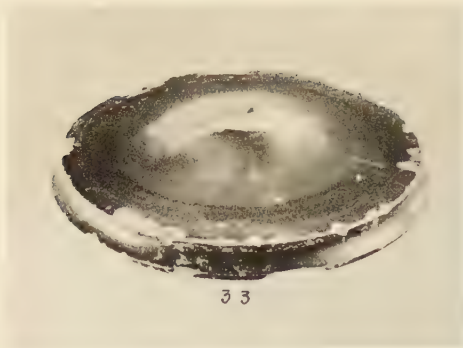
Black-glazed Skyphoi



Black-glazed Vases



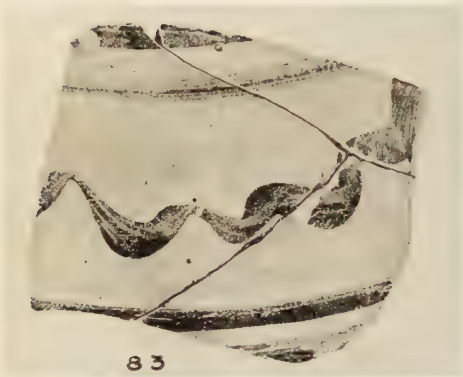
Black-glazed Bowls and Salt-cellars



Black-glazed Cup Foot
(slightly under actual size)



Black-glazed Cup



Fragment of Semi-glazed
Stamnos (scale 1:2)



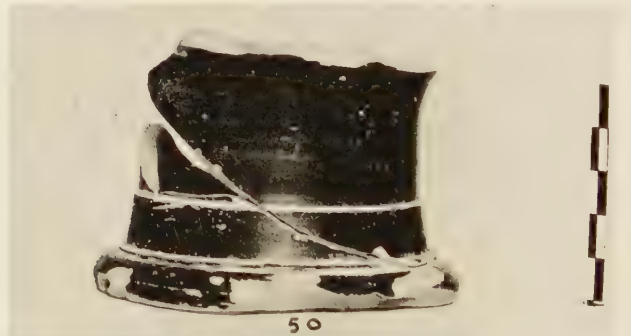
Black-glazed Kantharos
Handle (scale about 2:3)



Thymiaterion Cover
(scale about 2:3)



Black-glazed Ladle



Fragment of Black-glazed Psykter



Black-glazed Kothon, Lekanis and Large Bowl



Black-glazed Globular Lekythoi



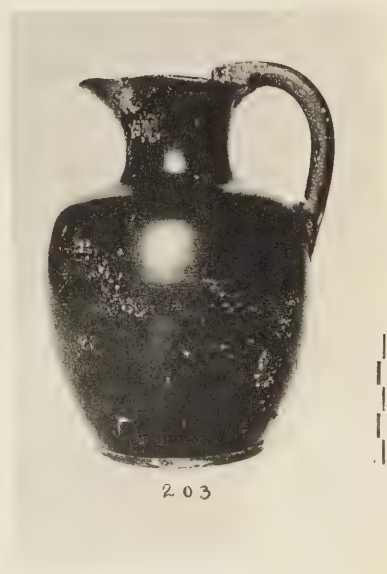
Fragment of Black-glazed Pelike



Black-glazed Oinochoe



Black-glazed Olpe



Black-glazed Oinochoe



Semi-glazed Kraters

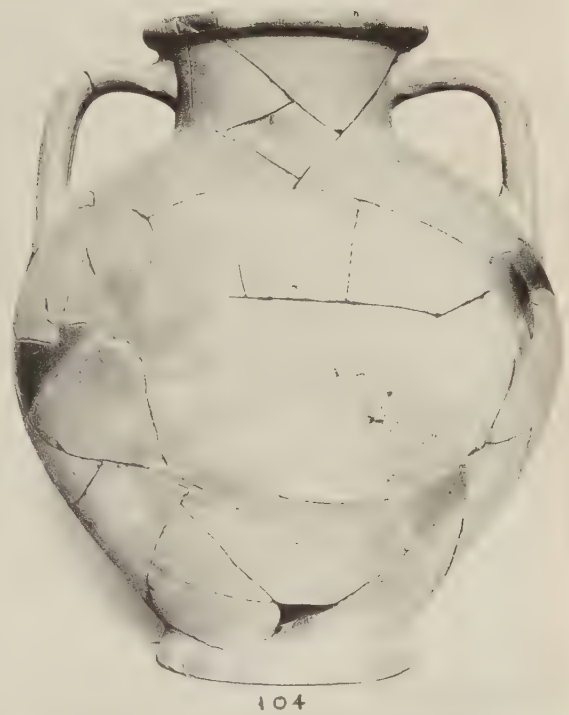


Semi-glazed and Plain Ware, Various Shapes

CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



Thinly Glazed Column Kraters



Gray Amphora and Plain Amphora

CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



Corinthian Plain Ware



Detail of Corinthian Amphora



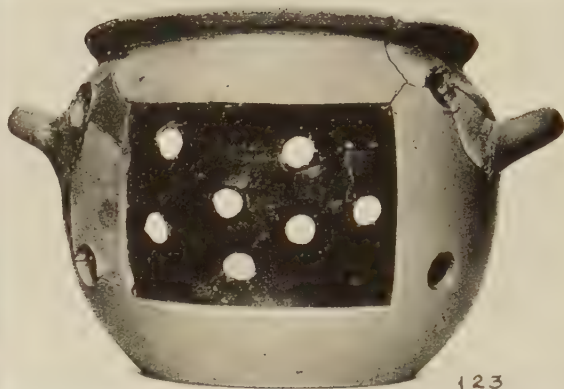
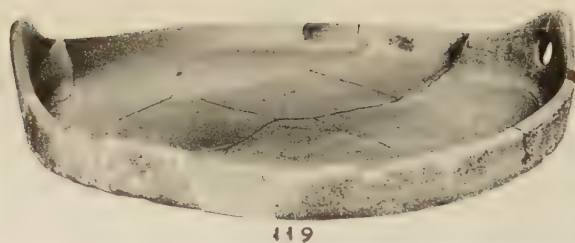
Mortar



Cooking Ware



Coarse Ware Jugs



Braziers and Cooking Pots

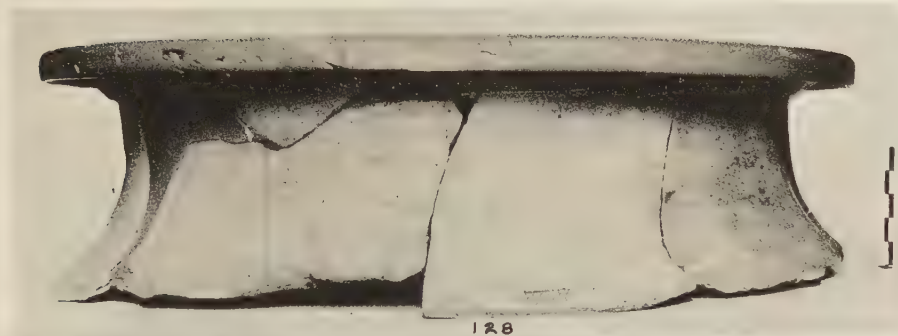
CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



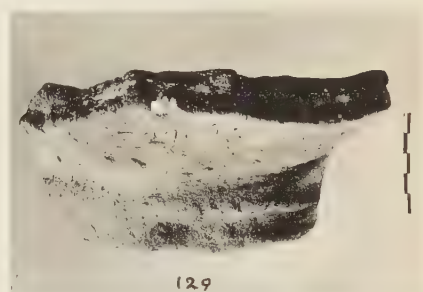
Coarse Ware Amphora



Gray Askos



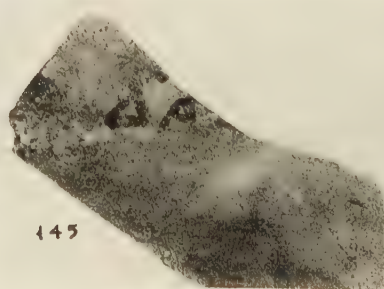
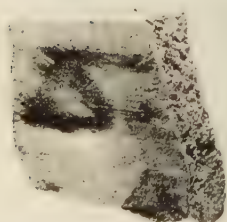
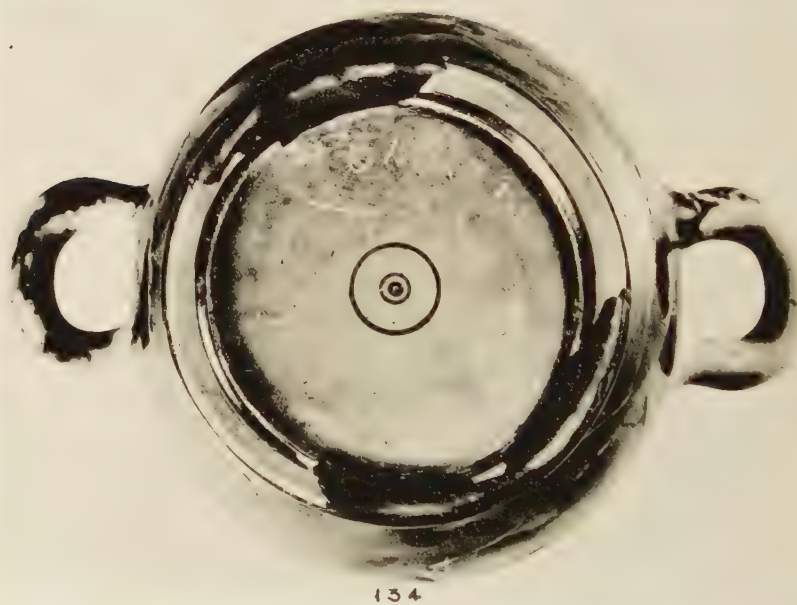
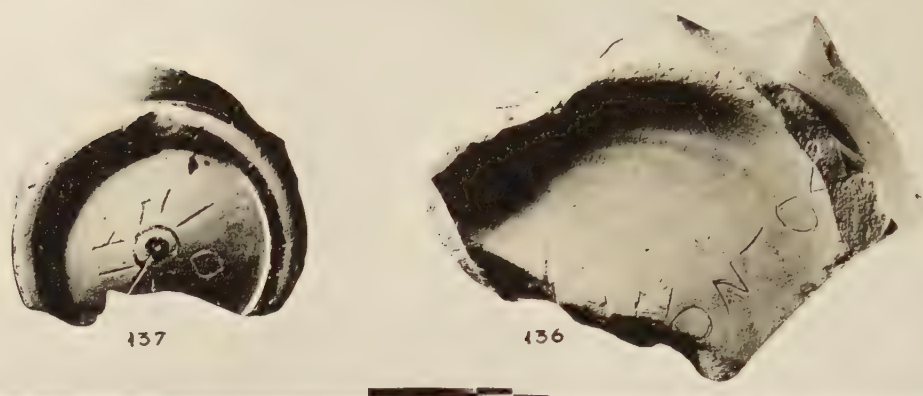
Pithos Rim



Pithos Fragment



Bath Tub



Ostrakon of Perikles and Other Inscribed Fragments



147



149



150



156



160



154



159



153



157



158

Wine Jars and Fragments (at one-tenth actual size)
(Catalogue of Wine Jars by Virginia Grace)

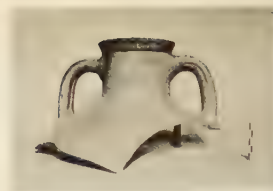
CEDRIC BOULTER: POTTERY OF THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY



161



162



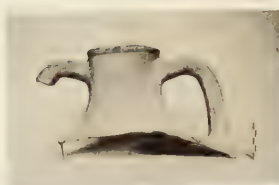
163



166



167



168

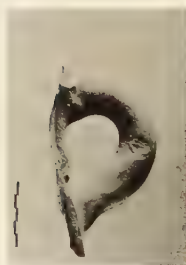


169

Wine Jar Fragments (at one-tenth actual size)



164

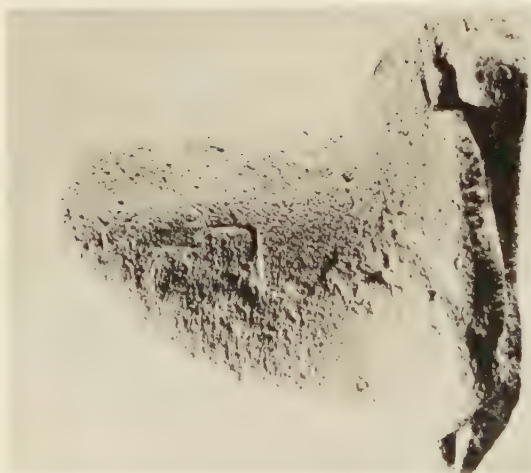


170



152

Smaller Fragments (at about one-fifth actual size)



165

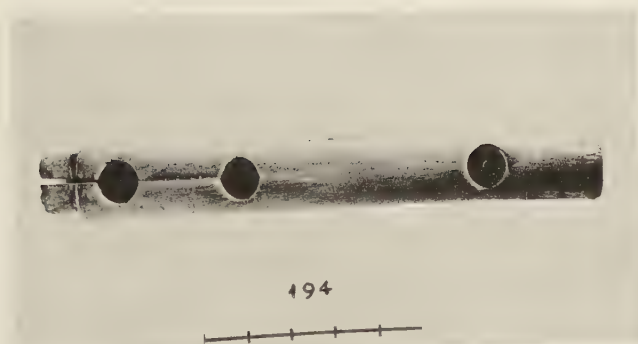


163

Stamp and Graffito (actual size)
(Catalogue of Wine Jars by Virginia Grace)



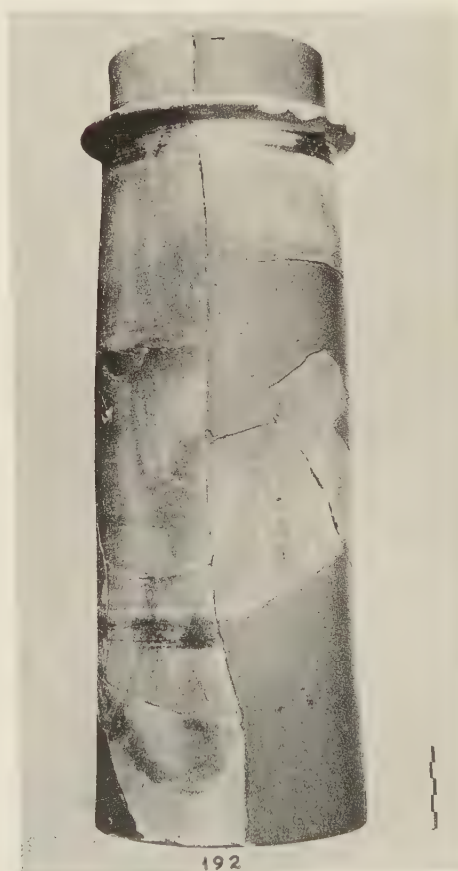
Lamps and Loom-weights



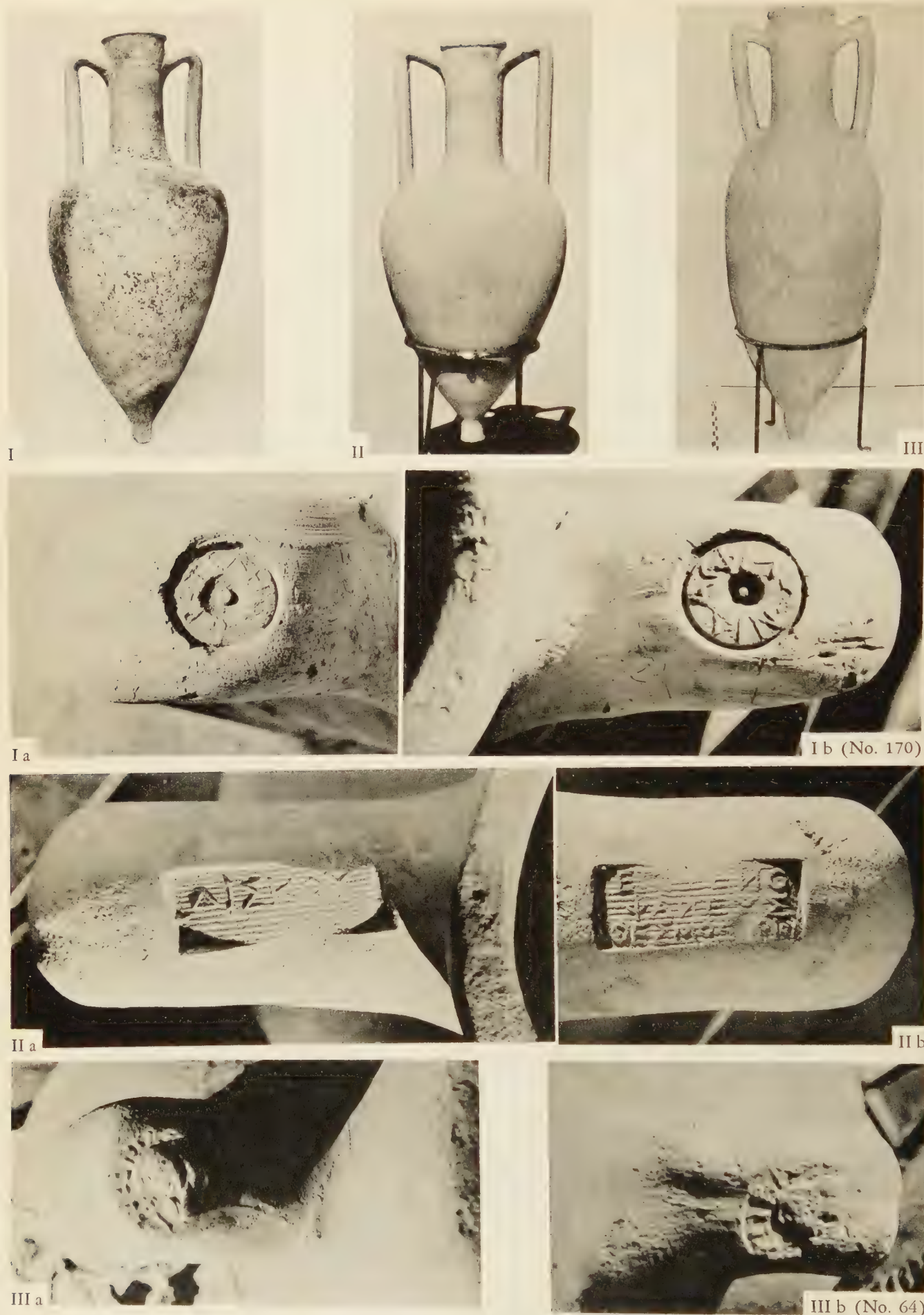
Section of Bone Flute



Worked Antler Fragment



Water Pipe



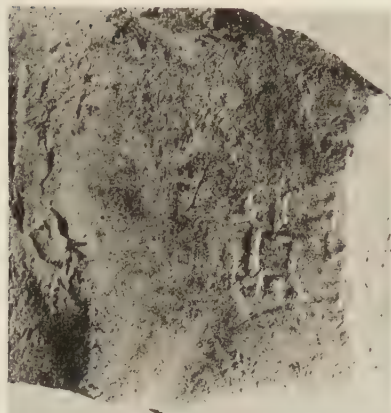
Development of the Rhodian Stamped Amphora: Late 4th Century, late 3rd Century, and 1st Century B.C.
The Stamps 1:1, the Jars 1:10.



a. (No. 132)



b. (No. 132)



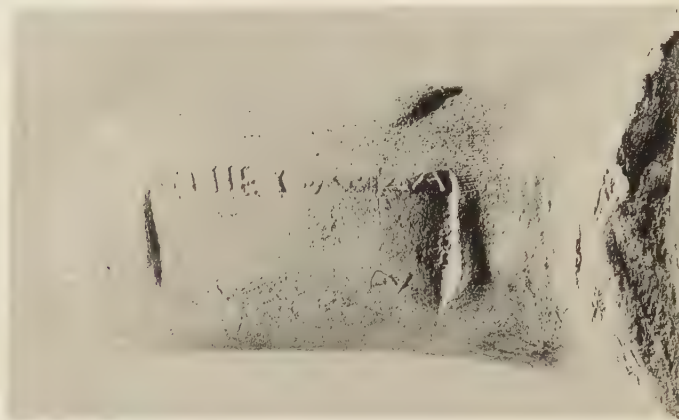
c. (No. 26)



d. (No. 26)



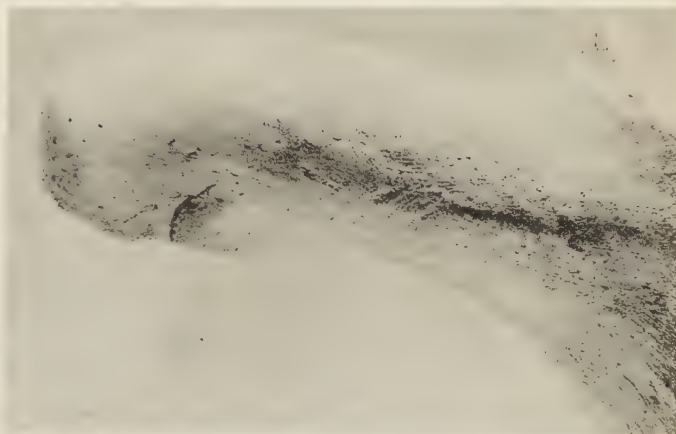
e. (No. 140)



f. (No. 81)



g. (No. 81)



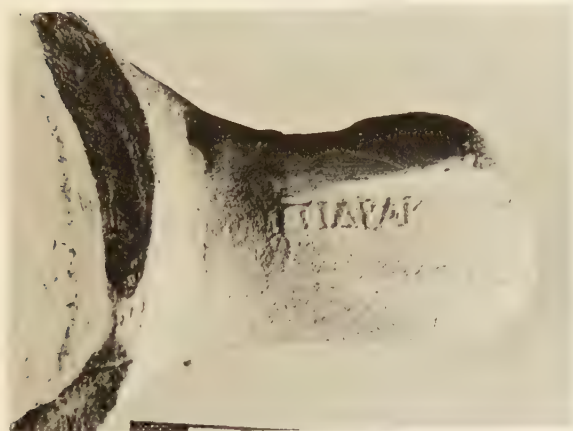
h. Profile of handle in f. (No. 81)

New Rhodian Eponyms of the Late 4th (?) and 3rd Centuries B.C.: Peithiadas, Antileon, Protogenes, and Eukleidas Charmeus.

a., b., f.-h. 1:1, the rest not at exact scale.



a. (No. 12)



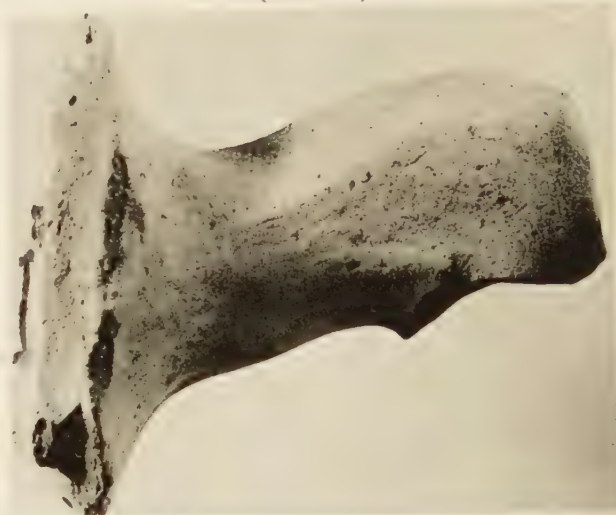
b. (No. 75)



c. (No. 115)



d. (No. 118)



e. (No. 118)

New Late Rhodian Eponyms, Athanodoros, Drakon, Lykon, and Nausikos.
a. and c. 1:1, the rest not at exact scale.



f.-h. Storage of Stamped Handles: at right, Method Adopted at the Agora Excavations, Athens, and by the French School of Athens for Finds from Delos.

INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1953 – A TAVERN OF APHRODITE

(PLATES 45–46)

EXCAVATIONS in the Agora of Corinth during the spring of 1938 revealed traces of a Greek building of unusual type which had been destroyed in the fourth century B.C. during the construction of the great South Stoa and the retaining, or terrace wall to its north.¹ In the hope of learning more about this early structure and the area in which it stood, exploratory clearing by four workmen was undertaken intermittently for a period of two months during the spring of 1953.²

The area investigated (Fig. 1) lies just north of the foundation of the stereobate of the South Stoa in front of Shops XXVI to XXX, and extends northward as far as the rear wall of the Central Shops.³ It had suffered cruelly from late Roman and early Byzantine intrusions. No less than nine great mediaeval pithoi had cut their mighty circles into and through the walls and pavements of the building itself; Early Christian squatters had built kitchens at lower levels than the Greeks, and had worked further havoc with the scant remains by interring infants below their hearths. The Greeks themselves had liberally pillaged walls and foundations to construct the terrace wall of the Stoa, and had rifled the Geometric graves in the area. Thus the reconstruction must remain as fragmentary as the stones and cuttings and pottery of which it is composed.

The earliest evidence of habitation in the area is provided by a deep deposit of Early Helladic fill that runs along the northern part, bounded on the south by a wall of large rough boulders (A on plan Fig. 1). Not enough of this wall was uncovered to give certain evidence for its date; but while it seems more likely to be of Geometric

¹ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 258.

² Work began on the 20th of February and ended on the 18th of April. The inventories were kept by Mrs. Jeanne Face, and the basic plan was drawn by Mr. C. W. J. Eliot, both Fellows at the School. The foreman was Evangelos Lekkas. Cleaning of objects and mending of pottery was done by George Kachros. Particular thanks are due to Dr. Oscar Broneer whose studies in connection with the South Stoa (to be published shortly in *Corinth*, Vol. I, part iv) have contributed much to the explanation of the earlier building. I am further indebted to Dr. Lucy T. Shoe, Dr. and Mrs. Homer A. Thompson, and to Dr. John L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who not only forwarded the work through official channels, but also gave generously of his time in the field and in the workrooms. Most of the illustrations are his; the others were taken by Mrs. Morgan.

³ *A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 1, area marked 1938.

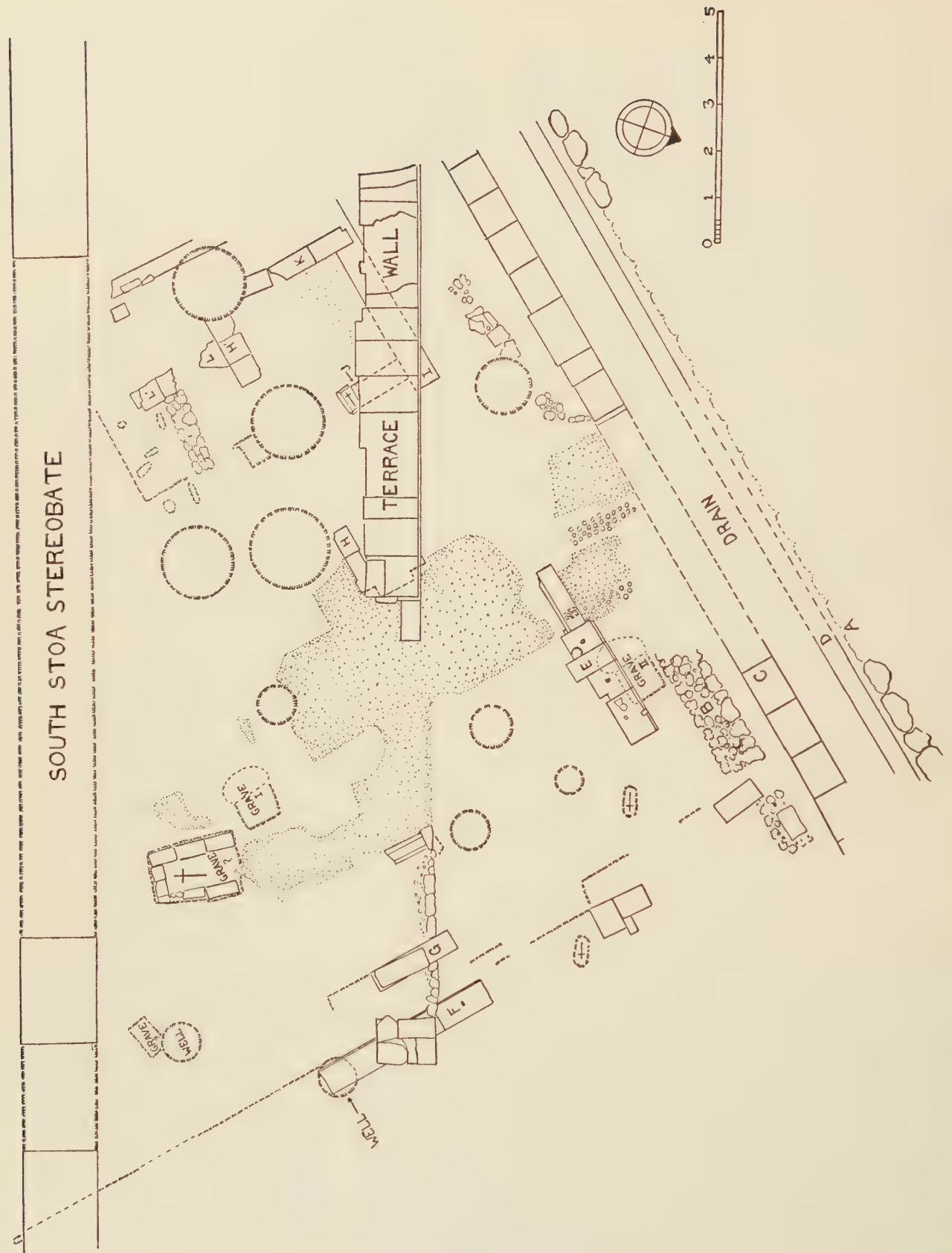


FIG. 1. Plan of the area, actual state.

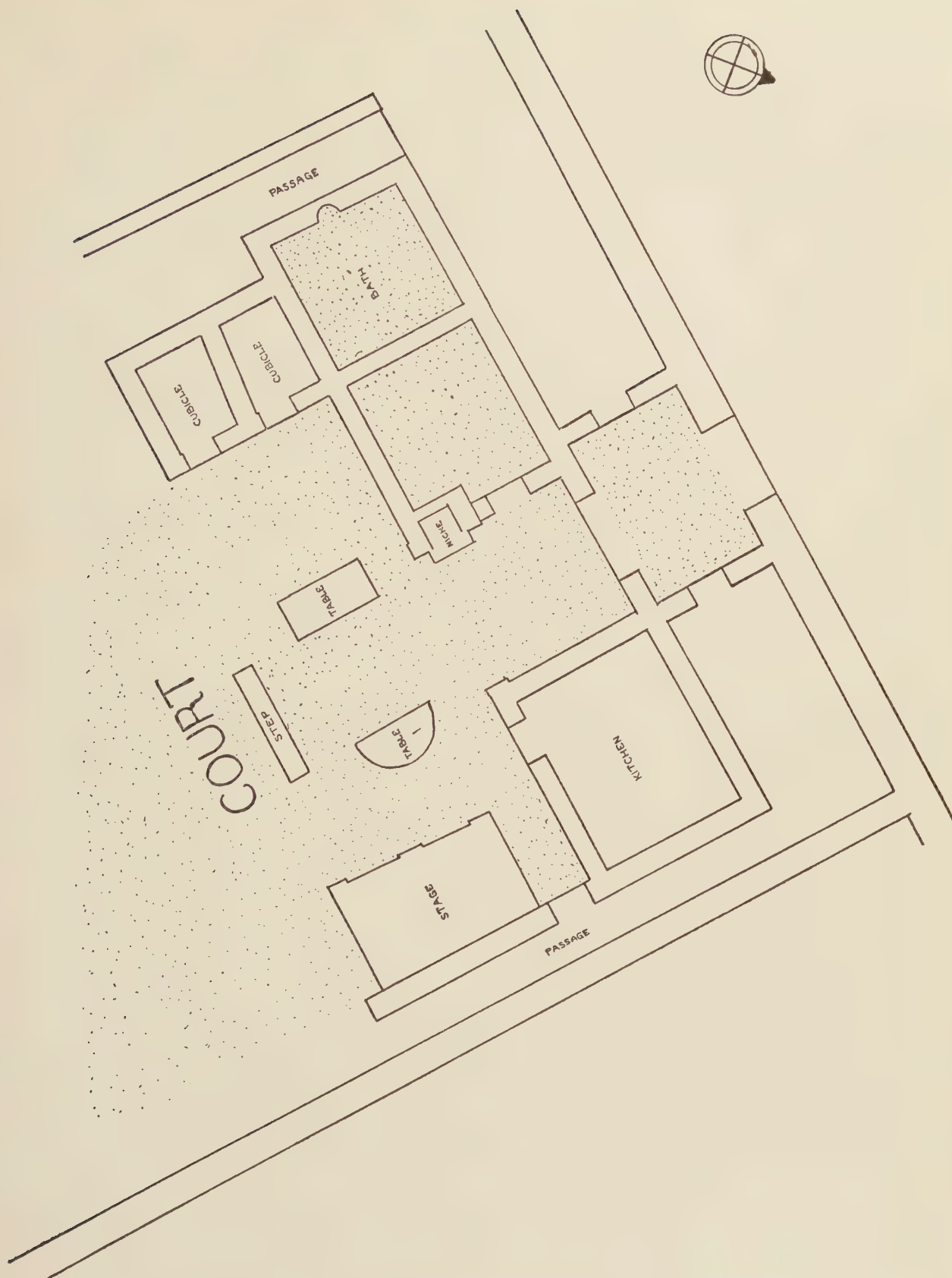


FIG. 2. Proposed reconstruction of main building in the IV century B.C.

date, nothing later than the Early Helladic fill to the north has as yet been found behind it.

South of, and parallel to, this boulder wall is a second wall of smaller, uncut stones, some 0.85 m. wide (B on plan; Pl. 45b). This is firmly dated in the eighth century by the considerable fragments of late Geometric pottery associated with it. The wall extended for the full length of the area under investigation and seems to have determined the main axis of orientation for the whole region until the fourth century B.C. when the expansion of the Agora and the building of the South Stoa caused a drastic reorganization.

The Geometric wall seems to have served as a retaining wall for a cemetery to the south. Cut into hardpan were two, possibly four, graves, of a rather different type than those found in 1937 near the Bema.⁴ Those had been simple shaft burials. The two well-preserved specimens in this new group showed that the interment was made in a shallow cave scooped out of hardpan to the west of the bottom of the rather shallow shaft. In only one was the skeleton preserved (Grave I, Pl. 45c), the legs drawn up in contracted position. The cave was walled off from the shaft with a thin partition of small stones. Though the filling of the shafts contained plentiful small fragments of Geometric pottery, a few sixth century sherds at the bottom of one provides an explanation for the total lack of offerings.

It seems probable that wall A formed the northern boundary of a shallow open drain through which the natural surface drainage flowed northeastward in the direction of Peirene.

Not long after the middle of the sixth century B.C. the expansion of Corinth, best marked by the Temple of Apollo, manifested itself in this region. A great covered drain, 1.03 m. wide, was constructed within the earlier open one, its south wall carefully built of fine ashlar blocks 0.90 m. in width (C on plan; Pl. 45b), its north wall more hastily fabricated of large cut stones indifferently set together (D on plan). The covers were similarly disparate, odd lengths and thicknesses of squared stone and split column drums. Over these and extending far beyond them to the north was laid a tough cement pavement, 0.25 m. thick in places, and bedded on the Early Helladic deposit.⁵

South of the drain two further walls were built about this time. One runs

⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 543.

⁵ The date of the north wall of the drain, previously thought to have been later (see *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 258 and 259) was firmly established this season as contemporary with the south wall. The date of the pavement was determined by the discovery, in places, of a very thin layer of earth below it which contained nothing later than sherds of the sixth century. Embedded in it at one point appeared a small bronze coin of the familiar Pegasos and Trident type dated 400-146 B.C. This sole conflicting item seems probably to represent a fourth century repair. Similarly the split sections of columns used for covers bore no trace of the pavement and are considered by Dr. B. H. Hill as Roman repairs.

parallel to it at a distance of two meters, and consists of a single course of squared blocks bedded on hardpan, with euthynteria cut along the northern face (E on plan; Pl. 45b). Only four blocks remain, though *stereo* is prepared for at least one more to the east. Beyond this point a Roman household had removed all traces of Greek activity. To the west the wall was interrupted by a later threshold; and though large blocks continue its line on from a point six meters further west (I on plan; Pl. 45b), these, like the threshold, may have been set more than a century later.

The preserved four blocks, though neatly joined, are of different lengths; nor were the builders disturbed by the variety of their widths which project irregularly to the south. Clearly these must have been at least at floor level if not actually beneath it. Numerous round and rectangular cuttings on the upper surfaces imply vertical wooden members of some sort, though their irregularity of size and spacing offers no clue to their original purpose.

The other sixth century wall, running at right angles to the drain, resembles the first in that it consists of a single course, bedding on *stereo* (F on plan). It is, however, different in the greater size of its blocks (0.63 m. wide) and their even finish on all sides. Of this construction only three blocks remain, euthynteria cut along their western face; but the footing trench extends southward under the foundations of the South Stoa stylobate where it ends, and *stereo* to the north is prepared for at least two more blocks. Beyond this point, where the surface of the hardpan slopes more sharply down to the north, three other blocks, not perfectly aligned for the purpose, may have served as a foundation for its continuation.

That it supported an adobe wall, probably above a thinner cap stone, was shown by a mass of fallen bricks, thrown down from it when the South Stoa was built. At that time, too, the now missing blocks were removed. The slight, though noticeable, slope of the wall from south to north suggests that at this time it served to bound an enclosure rather than to support a roofed building.

While these developments were in progress, work on two wells was discontinued and they were refilled. One of these, lying directly under the north-south wall, had reached a depth of only 0.80 meters. Its fill consisted largely of iron and bronze scoriae from a foundry. The other, just north of the Stoa foundations, had been cut to a depth of 5.15 meters without reaching water. In it were found fragments of hundreds of vases, fine and coarse, which, when mended, will provide good comparative material for study in connection with the sixth century well found in the 1937 campaign some forty meters to the east.⁶

The bulk of the finer pottery, mostly skyphoi and oinochoai, was of local manufacture (Pl. 46a, 1, 2), decorated simply in the debased Corinthian style or in the conventionalizing manner. One bears a graffito reading ΠΙΕ (Pl. 46a, 1) in the archaic Corinthian alphabet. A few imported vessels, mostly kylixes, were not com-

⁶ M. Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1939, pp. 557 ff.

parable to the many figured pieces from the 1937 well. A figurine of a seated goddess (Pl. 46a, 3) is of Rhodian manufacture.⁷ Three small, hand-made terracotta groups, all fragmentary, represent kneeling women kneading bread.

At some time during the fifth century the character of the area underwent a marked change (Pl. 45a). Within the earlier enclosure walls an extensive courtyard, paved with pebble cement, was laid behind the north wall probably bedding against it. Its shape was irregular, cut into by spur walls ending in antae and by light bases or offering tables.⁸ The central section was relatively level and flanked by two "bases," one of which was certainly semi-circular, the other possibly so. A part of one of these has probably been recovered from its later position as a cover of a near-by Byzantine grave. To the east and probably also to the west of the central section the pavement rose markedly in a southerly direction. There is no surviving indication of the means by which this disparity in level was reconciled beyond the preserved part of the central section, but a step or a low base seems the most likely solution. How far the pavement extended to east, south and west could not be determined.

A probable reconstruction of the area, based upon fragments of walls, occasional cuttings in hardpan, and the edges of the pavement itself, suggests that the visitor, entering from the north, found himself immediately confronted by a long east-west corridor, beyond which he approached a large open court with a wall, ending in an anta, on his left hand (Fig. 2). Immediately beyond the anta a paved passage, two meters wide, led eastward toward the old sixth century wall, but before meeting it, passed through a thinner wall of orthostates (G on plan). Directly south of this passage was a deep, low rectangular base, perhaps a stage, decorated on its western face with three pilasters, the settings for which are still indicated in the pavement. The facing of this stage, so far as it is preserved, was made of re-used material, behind which there was no solid foundation. The small stones remaining above hardpan clearly represent a late Roman filling.

Again approaching from the north, on the right (west) side the courtyard was closed on the north by an east-west wall (H and H' on plan) which terminated in a curious thickening⁹ flanked by antae, with a slight projection between them, perhaps the basis of a niche for an image.

Probably at this time changes or additions were made to the north and west of the court. An extension of the northern sixth-century wall (I on plan), now projecting under either side of the terrace wall, served, with southerly wings (J and K on plan), to enclose a tank of fair dimensions. Two plastered orthostates of wall K are still in position, standing to a height of 0.85 meters; a single block of wall J, and the

⁷ Cf. *Lindos*, I, pl. 96.

⁸ See *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, fig. 4.

⁹ This is best seen in *A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.* Most of the lowest details of this peculiar feature can be determined by the fingertips under the Terrace Wall.

northern section of waterproof stucco floor still survive despite the incessant intrusions of later date. At the southern end of wall K the corner of the orthostate has been cut away in a singular manner. A quarter circle slot beginning at the floor and narrowing toward the top bears the same waterproof stucco as the floor and the rest of the wall. With the now missing block immediately to the south this may have formed the setting for a fountain. No ingress or egress for water has yet been found.

Late in the fifth or early in the fourth century changes were made in this plan. From the southern wall of the reservoir a poorer wall extended south (L and L' on plan), and from this at least one execrable wall (M on plan) returned eastward apparently forming at least two cubicles. The well-worn floor of the court was patched and its broken parts resurfaced. About the middle of the fourth century a deposit of terracottas was buried under the floor of one of the cubicles.

At the northern end of the structure another change was made. A door sill was constructed against the western end of the sixth century wall (E on plan), cutting away the existing pavement to the south for its insertion. Between this and the great drain another pebble floor was laid.

Toward the end of the third quarter of the fourth century work was begun on the South Stoa and the earlier building was abandoned and dismantled, most of its material being put to other uses in the new construction, the upper part of the terracotta deposit being disturbed and figurines scattered about to the north and west. Carts hauled construction materials over the new threshold, wearing deep grooves in it and in the northern pavement. That these ruts do not show in the southern pavement implies that it had already been deserted and partly filled in. The terrace wall of the Stoa extended diagonally over the earlier courtyard, and the area between it and the Stoa was filled up with earth and debris. Shortly thereafter the northern part of the structure was in part repaired, perhaps for a construction shack, for the wheel marks in threshold and pavement were repaired with small cobbles. A little later it too was deserted, filled almost to the level of the terrace, and surfaced with a firm pavement of cobbles sloping down gently to the north.

The plan of the building is peculiar. It is too extensive to have been a house, and its interior divisions are unlike known domestic architecture of the time. Nor does it suggest any type of formal public building. Quantities of drinking cups found on, in and under the floor of the courtyard indicate a tavern; and the likely interpretation of the low rectangular base with its facing pilasters as a stage adds the theme of another form of entertainment. Peculiar features are the possible niche near the entrance, the two bases formally arranged on either side of the main approach, and the tank toward the western end of the building.¹⁰ The niche suggests an image, the bases light stone offering tables, the tank some sort of ritual. Thus to the normal

¹⁰ A parallel for the flanking bases is to be found in the larger, later and more elaborate Delphinion at Miletos. See Kawerau and Rehm, *Milet*, Vol. I, 3, *Das Delphinion in Milet*.

functions of the tavern are added certain religious features, the nature of which is clarified by the deposit of terracotta figurines.

This deposit, more homogeneous than most of those found at Corinth, seems clearly to focus on the cult of Aphrodite. More than a hundred whole or fragmentary figurines were found tightly packed against one of the cubicle walls; and about half as many, apparently disturbed from the top of the deposit, were scattered about at a slightly higher level. Purposed burning had hopelessly ruined many of them, but more than fifty from the deposit itself and about half as many from the immediate neighborhood were sufficiently well preserved to warrant a place in the inventory.

The variety of types represented is a considerable one (Pl. 46b), but it condenses into two distinct categories: those relating directly to Aphrodite and those relating to masculine pursuits. Thus all the standing and seated divinities holding attributes are Aphrodite with a dove. Standing and flying doves, both mould- and hand-made, and miniature mirrors are numerous. Plaques with a single serpent, without the crowning helmet that associates them with hero cults, are here pertinent to Aphrodite in her underworld aspect.¹¹

The other general group includes a large number of hand-made horses and riders, dogs, rams, and mould-made banqueters and shields. These are all common types at Corinth, horses with riders and dogs being found in almost all Corinthian deposits.¹² The reclining male figures have been considered appropriate to hero cults.¹³

One of the unsolved problems of votive figurines is whether or not they represent the deity or the worshipper. An Aphrodite of Acrocorinth held a shield; and thus the small fragments of shields from the deposit may be intended as her attribute. But if the votary were a warrior the shield might equally well be interpreted as his symbol. Similarly the knight might dedicate a horse and rider group, the hunter a dog, the herdsman a ram, and the celebrant a banqueteer.

In the Potters' Quarter at Corinth a small deposit of figurines¹⁴ contained many of the same types although much earlier in date, and also a small fragmentary bronze bowl bearing an inscription: *τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ἐμί*.¹⁵ The female figurines are of the same types as those in the new deposit, as are the mirrors and doves. It is interesting to note the presence of a snake plaque and shield. The absence of dogs and banqueters is not disturbing, for the popularity of these types is later than the "Aphrodite"

¹¹ She was thus worshipped at Corinth under the title of *Μελανίς*. Cf. Farnell, J. R., *Cults of the Greek States*, II, p. 652. For the plaques crowned with a helmet and associated with a hero cult see Miss Davidson, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 105 ff. and Dr. Broneer, *ibid.*, pp. 128 ff.

¹² Cf. Davidson, G. R., *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, pp. 15-18 and Stillwell, A. N., *Corinth*, XV, *The Potters' Quarter*, Part II, pp. 21-24.

¹³ Cf. Broneer, *loc. cit.*; but none of the banqueters from the new deposit is bearded, and in only one instance, from the debris around the deposit, did a female figure sit on the end of the couch.

¹⁴ Stillwell, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁵ Stillwell, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 23.

deposit, which dates a century earlier than the latest figurines in our group. The "Aphrodite" deposit contained one figure of a comic actor. Among the figurines presumably disturbed from the new deposit is a finely preserved actor of New Comedy type (Pl. 46c). It will be remembered that the plan of the building very probably included a small low stage facing on the court, linking theatrical entertainment with the establishment.

With the terracottas were a number of miniature vases, kraters, mesomphalic phialai and skyphoi; and large unglazed pyxis lids, though no pyxides were found to go with them. These recall a similar circumstance noted at the Argive Heraion where it was suggested that the lids were dedicated alone.¹⁶ Since the pyxis is a type of vase essentially for feminine use, this symbolism is of possible significance, as is also the exclusive choice of vessels associated with wine, sacred and profane. In this connection it should be noted that in the later debris in the area of the building itself and in a small pit below floor level the numerous vase fragments were almost entirely from kotylai, skyphoi and kantharoi.

That more elaborate offerings were made with the terracottas is shown by the small bronze fox (Pl. 46d) obviously a mirror-rim ornament, that was found with the deposit. We can only imagine what other valuable dedications may once have been buried here, and perhaps motivated the disturbance of this otherwise inconspicuous deposit.

For the identification of our building none of the known types of plans is of aid. As noted above, it is too large for a house, but unlike any public building known. Its one parallel, perhaps superficial, is to be found in a sanctuary, the hellenistic Delphinion at Miletos. The ample provision for large offering tables and the presence of the terracotta deposit do much to strengthen this assumption; and the contents of the deposit indicate that the deity was Aphrodite. The cult of Aphrodite at Corinth was famous throughout the ancient world.¹⁷ It is quite apparent that her devotees and their admirers must have met at suitable places, and the agreeable hospitality of a tavern has been a favored place for such acquaintanceship since history began. The presence of quantities of drinking vessels supports this interpretation as does the extensive paved courtyard. In the fourth century at least, the banqueters could retire into the narrow cubicles on the west.

The present evidence allows us the following series of hypothetical reconstructions of the area:

1. Later VIth century. A large open precinct fronting on the new Agora area to the north.

¹⁶ Caskey, J. L., *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 191.

¹⁷ Cf. Broneer: "The Armed Aphrodite on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua," *Univ. of Calif. Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, No. 2, pp. 65-84.

2. Vth century. A generous courtyard with offering tables, surrounded by covered rooms, one of which was surely a bath or lustral basin, and another possibly a low stage for entertainment.

3. Early IVth century. The courtyard repaired and rearrangement of the western part of the building into cubicles (Fig. 2).

4. Late IVth century. The destruction and covering of the whole.

The builders of the South Stoa cut their giant footing trench across the south end of the building and laid the broad terrace wall across the remnants of its floor and walls. South of this wall they filled in up to the level of its top. North of the wall a cobble pavement sloped gently down from the level of a single step.

The area appears to have remained undisturbed until late Roman times. Then, during the period of disintegration in the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ the terrace wall was plundered for building material. Torrents of winter rain plunged down Acrocorinth through the resultant gaps, washing out the ancient fill and destroying some of the remaining traces of Greek times. Roman squatters then plugged up the openings with a thin wall of small stones, set up miserable huts virtually on hardpan and gouged out graves for their infants under their hearths. Thus the Byzantines, resettling in the ninth century, found the place, and continued to remodel it to suit themselves with walls, floors and pithoi, until by the ninth century the level of their own accumulated rubbish had lifted their building operations more than a meter higher.

One of the earlier pithoi used as its base the fragmentary marble of a statue base of relatively early Roman Imperial times (Pl. 45d). The broken text which reads:

[- - - - -]
 [- - - -] ονίκου θεοῖς
 [- - - -] ὁδᾶμος μεγιστοδάμου λα
 [κεδᾶ] ιμόνιος ἐπόησε

is of interest chiefly because it offers a new name to the known roster of ancient sculptors, and especially because that sculptor was a Spartan.¹⁸

Further exploration through the apparently undisturbed fill to the west, and under the mediaeval deposits south of the footing trench of the South Stoa might produce further evidence relating to the Greek building. It is to be hoped that this may not be too long delayed.

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¹⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Benjamin D. Meritt for these observations on the inscription.

AN AKROTERION FROM THE TEMPLE OF ARES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 47-48)

IN 1891 the work of cutting the trench for the installation of the Athens-Piraeus railroad brought to light a number of ancient marbles in the area of the Athenian Agora, among others a female figure of about three-quarters life size (Pls. 47-48).¹ Both the legs are broken away, but it is clear that the figure must originally have been about to step forward, the right foot slightly raised. Her Doric chiton is blown back by the wind as she moves, and its short overfold billows up to form a ridge just below the breasts. The general type and dress are thoroughly appropriate to an akroterion of a temple, and she has long been recognized as such.² The back of the figure was not intended to be seen; the drapery is treated in a rather sketchy manner and worked with no regard for detail. The same treatment occurs on the akroteria from Epidauros³ and on the Nike from the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora.⁴ Of the base of our statue nothing remains. We have only the roughly rectangular pier which rose from the plinth and served to support the main weight of the figure. The working

¹ Athens, National Museum no. 1732. (S. Papaspiridi, *Guide du Musée National, Athens*, 1927, p. 72.) Preserved height 1.10 m. Height from center of left kneecap to left clavicle 0.71 m., from center of left kneecap to waist 0.42 m. Height of supporting pier 0.065-0.15 m., length 0.20-0.18 m. Pentelic marble. Kavvadias ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1893, pp. 39-47, pls. 4-5) associated the statue with the Bryaxis base, which had been found in the railroad cutting about 50 meters to the east of the statue. This attribution was rejected by Miss Richter (*The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1930, pp. 281-282, figs. 725-26) on the ground that the style of the figure is that of the late fifth century, a date too early for the work of Bryaxis. Studniczka (*Kalamis*, IV, 1907, p. 81) identified the figure as the central akroterion of the east façade of the Hephaisteion. Thompson has shown this attribution improbable in view of another more likely candidate of totally different style (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 241 note 30) and has proposed that the statue be assigned to the Temple of Ares (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 95). Kavvadias, Richter, and Studniczka identified the figure as a Nike Apteros; Svoronos (*Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens, 1908, pp. 164-169, pl. XXVII) as a Nereid. It has been mentioned briefly by Collignon (*Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, Paris, 1897, II, pp. 307-308, fig. 157) and Picard (*La Sculpture antique*, Paris, 1926, II, p. 96, fig. 44). I am deeply grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Karouzos, the Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum, for permission to publish the recomposed statue and for the facilities used in studying and photographing. I owe my photographs to Miss Alison Frantz. This study was begun while I was a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. It has benefited greatly from numerous valuable suggestions made by Professors Homer A. Thompson and Rhys Carpenter.

² F. Studniczka, *Kalamis*, IV, 1907, p. 81.

³ J. F. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros*, Berlin, 1951, pls. 3, 6.

⁴ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 374, fig. 4.

of the drapery behind the right leg indicates that it projected too far to remain without support of some kind. Consequently, the plinth must originally have extended forward under the right foot in the manner of the base of the Nike of Paionios.⁵ The base of the Nike from the Stoa of Zeus⁶ is not of the same type. The movement of this Nike to the side, determined by her position as a lateral akroterion, allows an arrangement of the limbs in a single plane and so requires no additional support for the feet. The even and pronounced weathering of the marble and the character of the base preclude the possibility that our statue was part of a pedimental group. The sharp, easily comprehensible pattern of the drapery is completely in keeping with the lofty position the statue would have occupied as an akroterion, and the extreme frontality and forward movement suggest that originally it must have stood above the peak of the gable.

Two joining fragments⁷ of the statue (part of the left leg broken just above and below the knee) were found in 1951 in a Late Roman level a few meters to the east of the Temple of Ares. According to the early publication, the statue itself was found about twenty meters to the north of the temple.⁸ Since in this general area there is no known building other than the Temple of Ares suitable in date, it seems reasonable to accept Professor Thompson's suggestion that our akroterion originally adorned its east façade.⁹ When the temple was destroyed,¹⁰ the damaged figure was built into a wall near by,¹¹ while the fragments of little value for re-use remained close to the spot where they fell.

The scale of the statue is also entirely suitable to the Temple of Ares. The original height of the figure must have been 1.32 meters, exactly the same as that of the group of two girls which has been identified as the central akroterion from the east front of the Hephaisteion,¹² a temple of approximately the same dimensions as the Temple of Ares and probably a work of the same architect.¹³

⁵ Curtius and Adler, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, IV, pls. 46-47.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374-379, figs. 4, 5, pl. 4.

⁷ Inv. S 1539. Preserved height 0.315 m., width 0.175 m., thickness 0.10 m. The fragments were first identified in 1952. They have been turned over to the National Museum and permanently joined to the statue.

⁸ P. Kavvadias, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1893, p. 39.

⁹ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 95.

¹⁰ The temple was probably destroyed by the Herulians in A.D. 267. See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 52.

¹¹ Kavvadias, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1893, p. 39.

¹² An instructive table of the relative heights of central akroteria to tympana is given by Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 242, note 31. To this one might add the akroteria of the Siphnian Treasury, which are in the same relative scale of proportions as the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon (tympanum height 0.735 m., restored height of central akroterion 0.63 m., *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV², pp. 163-164) and those of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros which are somewhat smaller (tympanum 1.30 m., akroterion, restored, 1.10 m., Defrasse and Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 55).

¹³ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-47.

The date given by Dinsmoor for the Temple of Ares is 440-436 B. C.¹⁴ and the akroteria should be contemporary with or should postdate the completion of the building. If we compare the dated monuments from the second half of the fifth century, we find the closest parallels for the drapery style of our figure in the 420's, after the completion of the Parthenon pediments and before the Nike Temple Parapet. The modeling of the figure is emphasized by a pattern of sharply defined ridges of drapery, a style that begins on the Parthenon frieze and pediments. One of the female figures among the goddesses of the frieze,¹⁵ possibly Nike or Iris, presents a striking parallel to our akroterion, especially the presence in the drapery above and below the waist of a series of tubular folds nicked in the center where they meet the waist band. Among the pedimental statues, one might select the Selene from the east gable¹⁶ for comparison. The drapery pattern is essentially similar, but the ridges on our figure are more isolated, less flat and broad, suggesting a slightly later date. The concentric catenaries visible above the girdle on the under part of the chiton and on the back of our akroterion are paralleled on an unpublished marble statue of Nike on loan in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, thought to be a copy of the Nike which stood on the right hand of the Athena Parthenos.¹⁷ Of the two Hesperides from the Hephaisteion, the carrying girl has drapery of a similar style, while that of her companion is quite different.¹⁸ The surface of the pedimental figure from Sounion is very badly weathered, but the folds between the arm and the breast on the left side are well enough preserved¹⁹ to indicate a marked resemblance to the treatment of similar folds on our figure. Points of resemblance between our akroterion and two of the female figures from the Altar of Ares have already been noted by Mr. Thompson.²⁰ One²¹ especially shows an affinity of style and design, but it is of more delicate workmanship in keeping with its lower position. The treatment of the drapery and its formal arrangement indicate that work on the altar must have been contemporary with the completion of the akroteria.

This style of raised ridges is found also, but now fully developed, on the miniature frieze from the base of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous²² attributed to Agorakritos and on a documentary relief from Eleusis dated in 421-20 B. C.²³ The sharply

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁵ A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 34, 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 6, 1.

¹⁷ According to the Museum label. The statue is to be published by Rhys Carpenter in a forthcoming number of 'Αρχ. Έφ.

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pls. 53-55.

¹⁹ *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVII, 1922, pp. 259-262, pls. 3-5.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 95.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 22 b, d.

²² E. Kjellberg, *Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des V. Jahrhundert*, Uppsala, 1926, pls. 4-5.

²³ *Ibid.*, pl. 12, 39.

isolated drapery folds on one of the fragments of the frieze ²⁴ are closely paralleled on the upper part of our akroterion, but the stage of development is slightly more advanced. The small frieze of the Nike Temple ²⁵ represents a similar stage in the evolution of this style, and there one can see the calligraphic mannerisms of the Nike parapet in an incipient stage. All trace of these mannerisms is absent from our figure, a fact that suggests she is closer to the Parthenon pediments than to the Nike parapet, where this special style achieved its ultimate elaboration.

There are, nevertheless, interesting points of comparison between our akroterion and the sculptures of the parapet. The rather peculiar device of curving the drapery from the right side of the figure over the right leg and onto the left knee, found on the new fragment from the Agora, can be discerned under the broken surface of one of the Nikai of Carpenter's Master A.²⁶ The motive seems to have been adopted into the standard repertoire for the indication of a wind-blown effect, and it reappears on the central akroterion of the east façade at Epidauros.²⁷

An analysis of the drapery that flies free of the figure leads to the same dating. Here a comparison with the Nike of Paionios, a work of the same general type which can be dated to shortly after 425 B. C.,²⁸ will be especially helpful. Even a casual glance will show that the curves and swirls of the free drapery are more boldly handled on the Nike than on our akroterion. Where the drapery falls free of the body, it seems to take on a life of its own and is no longer controlled by the necessity of modelling the figure. On our statue the point of transition between free drapery and that which models the body is much less skillfully accomplished. The body form is almost completely obscured in the area just below the left arm and at the left hemline. The sculptor has not yet mastered the transition to free drapery, and he must, therefore, have worked at least several years earlier than the time Paionios was modelling the Nike at Olympia.

Among the fifth century figures which are represented as running or alighting, our statue is a relatively early example of the completely frontal type. The Nike of Kallimachos reconstituted by Raubitschek²⁹ and some of the representations of winged figures on late archaic vases³⁰ are the earliest in this group. The Nike of

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 5, 16.

²⁵ C. Blumel, *Die Friese des Tempels der Athena-Nike*, Berlin, 1923; *idem*, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, pp. 135-165.

²⁶ R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, Cambridge, 1929, pl. 1.

²⁷ Crome, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

²⁸ *Olympia*, *loc. cit.* The statue must have been set up soon after the naval victory at Sphakteria in 425 B.C.

²⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 55, fig. 1.

³⁰ A Nike on a lekythos of the Dutuit Painter in New York (dated ca. 490 B.C.) and an "Iris" or Nike on a cup of the Brygos Painter in London retain the archaic *Knielauf* schema (Richter, *Red-Figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 51-52, pl.

Paionios and the Athenian akroteria from Delos,³¹ on the other hand, reveal a complexity of drapery folds and of free flying drapery in a more advanced stage of development than that found on our figure.

Undoubtedly the sculptor of our akroterion provided some clue to her identity which is no longer preserved, an attribute held in her hand or placed beneath her feet in the manner³² of the eagle on the base of the Nike of Paionios or the sea creatures which accompany the Nereids from Xanthos. The general type of the figure is that of a Nike, but the concept of a Nike Apteros seems to be unknown in the fifth century.³³ It should also be noted that Nikai such as those of Paionios and from the Stoa of Zeus³⁴ have much more mature and buxom figures. On the other hand, a Nereid³⁵ is hardly appropriate to a Temple of Ares. A more logical identification than either a Nike or a Nereid would be Hebe, the sister of Ares and the personification of youth.³⁶ In the *Iliad* Hebe solicitously bathes her brother's wound after his encounter with Diomedes (V, 905), and throughout the poem she is characterized as the female counterpart of Ganymede, the cup-bearer of the gods (IV, 2). In this capacity she appears on a number of early red-figured vases. On a late archaic cup in the manner of the Brygos Painter from Vulci³⁷ she holds a phiale in her hand, and on a hydria of the Painter of Palermo in Munich³⁸ she is represented wearing a Doric chiton, similar to that on our akroterion; she carries an oinochoe in her right hand and a phiale in her outstretched left hand. This general type continues into the second half of the fifth century and may be seen on a lekythos of the Achilles Painter in Cambridge.³⁹ Another lekythos in Cambridge⁴⁰ by the same artist pictures Athena with a winged figure not unlike the representation of Hebe on the first lekythos. Both type and clothing are similar, and on a number of vases⁴¹ we find a winged figure carrying an oinochoe or phiale indistinguishable, apart from the wings, from the Hebe type. The winged figure must represent either Nike or Iris.

28; J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, I, p. 110), while a Nike holding an oinochoe on a kylix of the Splanchnopt Painter in New York (ca. 460-450 B.C.) is represented in a fully frontal pose (Richter, pp. 108-110, pl. 81).

³¹ F. Courby, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XII, pp. 237-238.

³² *Olympia*, loc. cit.; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, II, pp. 33-38.

³³ W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, III¹, cols. 310, 316. The small Ionic temple on the Acropolis is actually dedicated to Athena, who is Nike Apteros.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pl. 4.

³⁵ The suggestion of Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VII, cols. 2579-2584; Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Hebe, eine archäologische Abhandlung*, Leipzig, 1867; Roscher, *Lexikon*, I², cols. 1869-1871.

³⁷ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 258, no. 3; Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1848-50, pl. D.

³⁸ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 192, no. 3; Kekulé, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, 2.

³⁹ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 639, no. 66; *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, R and S, III I, pl. 13, 4.

⁴⁰ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 639, no. 64; *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, R and S, III I, pl. 13, 3.

⁴¹ *C.V.A.*, Louvre, fasc. 3, III Id, pl. 10, 1; fasc. 8, III Id, pl. 36, 6; Richter, *op. cit.*, pls. 81, 93; Hoppin, *op. cit.*, II, p. 423.

We shall find that the same confusion of types appears in the sculptural representations of the period. The "Iris" of the east pediment of the Parthenon⁴² wears the Doric chiton typical of the female messenger, but she is wingless. The immaturity of the figure suggests that she is Hebe rather than Eileithyia,⁴³ and like our figure she is apparently in rapid motion. One of the goddesses of the frieze,⁴⁴ as we have already noted, bears a striking resemblance both in general type and in arrangement of drapery to our figure and to one of the fragments from the Altar of Ares. She holds one hand in front of her while with the other she is touching or arranging her hair. Hebe appears in a similar pose on an onos of the Eretria Painter in Athens.⁴⁵ Frequently she appears on vases in the company of Hera,⁴⁶ with whom she stands on the Parthenon frieze.⁴⁷ These examples are sufficient to indicate that a certain confusion existed in type, attributes, and function among Hebe, Iris, and Nike. All three are servants to the Olympians and wear the dress appropriate to their calling. It is not surprising that our figure has so constantly been referred to as a Nike, when actually Hebe is the wingless counterpart of both Nike and Iris.

Parallel examples of the use of a minor mythological figure of special appropriateness for the akroterion of a temple are found in the Hesperides of the Hephaisteion⁴⁸ and in the figure carrying a goose from the Asklepios Temple at Epidauros. Crome has identified the latter as Epione, the wife of Asklepios and so also a symbol of triumph over sickness.⁴⁹ Hebe is appropriate as an akroterion alighting on the peak of a temple in her capacity of Olympian messenger, but undoubtedly on the Temple of Ares she appears as a symbol of youth rather than merely as a servant of the gods. Her name indicates that she originated as a personification. In the fifth century, however, she is not only the personification of youth but the giver of youth as well. In the *Herakleidai* of Euripides, a play that almost certainly dates to the opening years of the Peloponnesian War,⁵⁰ and is therefore more or less contemporary with our akroterion, Iolaos prays to her for the restoration of his youth for a single day (lines 851 ff.), and it is ultimately through Hebe that victory is won for the *Herakleidai* and Athens.

⁴² Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 34, 28.

⁴⁵ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 726, no. 27; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1897, pl. 10, 1; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, fig. 562.

⁴⁶ For example, on a vase from Kerch by the Kadmos Painter (Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 804, no. 5; *J.H.S.*, VII, 1886, p. 204, D).

⁴⁷ C. Picard (*Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La Sculpture*, II, Paris, 1939, p. 462) suggests that the figure is either Hebe or Iris. However, Smith (*The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 53) notes the outline of wings in the area behind the figure, indicating that she must be either a Nike or Iris.

⁴⁸ Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 248-251.

⁴⁹ Crome, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ G. H. Macurdy, *The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides*, Columbia Univ. Diss., 1905, pp. 11-38.

Our figure might be restored holding an oinochoe in her left hand and phiale in her outstretched right hand, on the basis of the type generally found on vase paintings. Alternative attributes appear on an early archaic cup by Oltos,⁵¹ which depicts Hebe seated in the assembly of the gods holding an apple in one hand and a flower in the other. The late archaic cup in the manner of the Brygos Painter⁵² shows her holding a branch and a phiale. These attributes may be derived from the poetic phrases Ἥβης ἄνθος⁵³ and Ἥβας καρπός.⁵⁴

A fragment of an angle akroterion base from the Temple of Ares indicates that single figures, perhaps Nikai, flanked our central statue.⁵⁵ If so, the composition of three female figures is used here for the first time and provides the precedent for the use of three Nikai on the Temple of Artemis at Epidauros.⁵⁶

In using a mythological figure of special appropriateness to the temple, the architect is following a precedent which, as we have noted, he originated on the Hephaisteion. With the Temple of Ares, however, he seems to have returned to the simpler device of a single figure, such as had been used for the earliest akroteria of the figure style,⁵⁷ rather than a group.

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⁵¹ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 38, no. 50; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 360.

⁵² Gerhard, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ *Il.* XIII, 484; Solon, (D²) 21.

⁵⁴ Pindar, *O.* 6, 67; *P.* 9, 109.

⁵⁵ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 37. Bulle has identified a representation of the temple on a fragment of a kalyx krater in Würzburg which also seems to indicate Nikai akroteria (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 473-482).

⁵⁶ Defrasse and Lechat, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-171.

⁵⁷ For example, the Siphnian Treasury, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV², pp. 163-166. Of the remaining two temples by the same architect, the one at Sounion had palmette akroteria and the one at Rhamnous had conventional griffins as angle akroteria (Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 182).

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESOS¹

(PLATES 49-52)

A. HERMIONE

INSCRIPTIONS 1-5 are on the "Bisti" (Albanian, "tail"), the ἀκτὴ of Pausanias (II, 34, 9) which projects into the sea from the modern town. They are all in or near the second tower from the south of the Venetian wall which cuts across the promontory roughly halfway from the tip (see the plan, copied from A. Philadelphus, in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. I).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Four dedications to Demeter Chthonia, spanning in all probability four generations. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, large rectangular bases of limestone, placed lengthwise and forming the west face of the tower, can be seen on Plate 50 (Nos. 2, 4, and 1, from front to back).

1* (Pl. 50). *I.G.*, IV, 684 (*S.E.G.*, XI, 1950, 379).

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.76 m.; length, 2.20 m.

For other details see W. Peek, "Griechische Inschriften," *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 46-7. This and the following inscription, known since Fourmont, were rediscovered by A. Philadelphus (*Πρακτικά*, 1909, p. 174); the upper surface has been completely uncovered since Peek republished the inscription. With Peek I underline those letters read by Fourmont but now lost.

Ἀριστομένες ἀνέθε[κ]ε Ἀλεξία
τᾷ Δάματρι τᾷ Χθονίαι
hermioneús
Δορόθεος ἐφεργάσατο Ἀργεῖος

Noteworthy in the text of the dedication are the forms + for ξ in Ἀλεξία, and Υ for χ in Χθονίαι; the alphabet is that used in the Argolic Akte.² The signature, in

¹ These inscriptions were examined by my wife and me in the winter and spring of 1950 while we were members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Inscriptions previously published are marked with an asterisk. I am most grateful for the advice and guidance while in Greece of Professors Eugene Vanderpool and John H. Kent. To Professor G. J. Georgacas I am greatly indebted for advice and annotation on linguistic matters; I am solely responsible for the topographical identifications.

² In the Argolic alphabet +(X)=ξ, *I.G.*, IV, 800 (Troizen), *I.G.*, IV², 1, 141 (Epidauros); ↓(Υ)=χ, *I.G.*, IV, 760, line 6, *I.G.*, IV, 800 (both Troizen).

contrast to the first three lines, shows **D** for Δ , and angular for rounded *rho*; its attribution to the alphabet of Argos (as opposed to the Akte) is confirmed by the Argive *gamma* (cf. *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 140, No. 18, fragment f).

2* (Pl. 50). *I.G.*, IV, 683, Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 45 ff. (*S.E.G.*, XI, 1950, 378).

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.73 m.; length, 2.02 m.

Ἀλεξίας : Λύονος : ἀνέθε[κε]
 τῇ Δάματρι : τῇ Χθονίαι
 ἡρμιονεύς
 Κρεσίλας : ἐποίησε : Κυδονιάτ[α]ς

Note the inconsistent use of the form **X** for ξ in Ἀλεξίας, but also for χ in Χθονίαι. The same alphabet is used for the text of the dedication and the signature. In the signature the thinner *epsilon* (but compare that in Ἀλεξίας, line 1) and *nu* remarked by Peek are in keeping with the smaller scale of the whole line, as is common in signatures (average letter height, line 4, 0.020 m. compared to lines 1-3, 0.022-0.025 m.). The use of **X** for χ in Χθονίαι has been explained (e. g., by M. Fraenkel, *I.G.*, IV, 683; H. Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. ant.*, Berlin, 1882, No. 47) as a stonecutter's error, presumably under the influence of an "East Greek" alphabet. Peek (p. 47) regarded it rather as a more recent development of the alphabet of Hermione (but cf. the continued use of **X** for ξ in the line above).³ Palaeographically the more likely explanation of the inconsistent usage in **2** is that **X** in Ἀλεξίας is written for **X** ξ and that **X** for χ in Χθονίαι is correct and not in error for **Y**. A local workman, accustomed to writing **X** (or **+**) alone for ξ , understandably omits the *sigma* and proceeds to cut the rest of the name. His copy was in an alphabet identical with that of Hermione except for **X** ξ instead of **X**, and **X** instead of **Y**. This is not Ionic (cf. the **O** of Λύονος and the **E** of ἀνέθεκε) nor Attic nor Argive ($\Lambda = \lambda$) but Aeginetan, the alphabet in which the known fifth-century inscriptions of the sculptor Kresilas's native city of Kydonia are written, in marked contrast to the characteristic Cretan forms of other Cretan cities.⁴ Kydonia was colonized by Aeginetans in 515 B.C.

³ Such an explanation, however, is relevant to the solitary occurrence in **2** of the *nu* with short right shaft (in ἡρμιονεύς, line 3) and to the use of **X** instead of **+**, whatever its value.

⁴ See M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II, pp. 122 f. In the Aeginetan alphabet **+** (**X**) = χ , *I.G.*, IV, 55, 56, 65, 70 (cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 498, 501, *S.E.G.*, XI, 14), 1580 (= A. Furtwängler, *Aigina: Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich, 1906, I, p. 367, fig. 292; II, pl. 25. 1), and 1590; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 42-3, No. 5 (*S.E.G.*, XI, 1). A tile stamp of the late 6th or early 5th cent. B.C., published by G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 487, No. 7 (and No. 5, if the text is the same), *S.E.G.*, XI, 20, shows **Y** which the editor transliterates as *chi*. Until the resultant word, Δαβυχει[άν], is substantiated, our picture of the Aeginetan alphabet need not be changed. **+** ξ = ξ , *I.G.*, IV, 55.

(Herod., III, 59; Strabo, VIII, 376; Plato, *Leg.* IV, 707e) and it has been thought that the sculptor's family may have been of Aeginetan origin.⁵ I suggest that Kresilas prepared the copy for both the signature and the text of the dedication (in contrast to **1**, there are no differences in letter forms).⁶ The great similarity of the two alphabets, Hermionian and Aeginetan, makes the error of ΑΛΕΧΙΑΞ for ΑΛΕΧΞΙΑΞ understandable.

3 (Pl. 50). Limestone block inside the chapel of Hagios Nikolaos about 150 m. northeast of **1**, **2**, and **4**. The block is built into the back wall, behind and to the left of the iconostasis.

The visible dimensions of the block, 0.30 m. high and 0.93 m. wide, are close enough to the dimensions of the short, inscribed faces of **1**, **2**, and **4** to show that this is almost certainly the front portion of a similar rectangular base. The surface is finely stippled with a smooth band 0.02 m. wide running around the outside edges. The letters are well cut and in the Ionic alphabet. Height of letters, lines 1 and 2, 0.030-0.035 m.; lines 3 and 4, 0.020-0.023 m., *omikron* smaller, 0.013 m. Distance between lines 1 and 2 and between 2 and 3, 0.035 m.; between lines 3 and 4, 0.010 m.

Κλενάγορος : Λύωνος
 Δάματρι : Ἑρμιονεύς
 Πολυκλῆς : Ἀνδροκύδης : Ἀργεῖοι
 ἐποίησαν

The style of the writing accords with the *floruit* of Ol. CII (372-68 B.C.) assigned by Pliny to a sculptor in bronze by the name of Polykles (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 50) whose non-Attic origin is clear by contrast with Polykles, Athenaios, *fl.* Ol. CLVI (156-52 B.C.; *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 52).

4* J. Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 537, fig. 18.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.76 m.; length, 2.07 m.

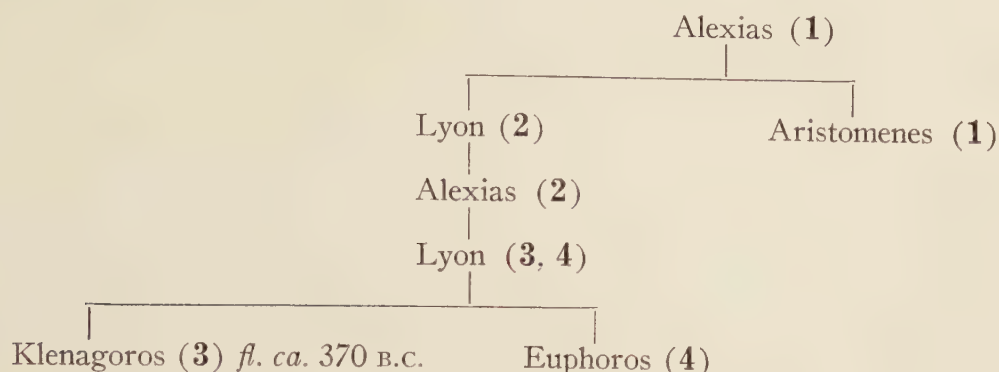
For the position of the block, comparable in size and shape to **1**, **2**, and **3** (in the visible surface), see Pl. 50. There are only three holes for the setting of hooves on the upper surface. Evidently the left front foot was raised.

Εὐφορος Λύωνος
 Δάματρι Ἑρμιονεύς

⁵ G. Lippold, *R.E.*, "Kresilas," 1714; M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II, p. 109.

⁶ Both the dedication and the signature on the base of the bull of the Corcyraeans (or Plataeans? cf. P. Amandry, *B.C.H.*, LXXIV, 1950, pp. 10-21) at Delphi are in the Aeginetan alphabet of Theopropos the sculptor (early 5th cent. B.C., *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, No. 2, and *S.I.G.*³, 18).

For the dedicators of these four inscriptions the following stemma is probable:



If the Alexias of **1** and **2** are the same, the dedicator of **1**, Aristomenes, has his *floruit* around 400 B.C., a date inconsistent with the character of the writing of **1**. Furthermore, **1** and **2** do not seem as much as twenty years apart (Peek believes they are by the same hand), but a date around 400 B.C. would make **1** approximately twenty years later than **2** since Kresilas's latest work cannot be placed later than the twenties of the fifth century.⁷

The statues carried on these bases have been thought to be equestrian. The three whose upper surfaces are visible, **1**, **2**, and **4**, show dowel holes for fixing the feet of a four-footed animal. However, the distinctive ritual of Demeter Chthonia in which the victims, four cows, take on special importance,⁸ and the frequent dedication of images of bulls, cows, and oxen throughout Greece,⁹ often by the most distinguished

⁷ Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, pp. 512-13, who describes Kresilas as a younger contemporary of Perikles whose career coincided with the period of Perikles' greatest influence.

The priority of **1** to **2** may also receive support from its consistent use of the *nu* with right side short, noted by Peek, and from the upright + as against the X of **2** [cf. note 3, *supra*]. Two reasons advanced by Peek are not valid: that the X for Y in Xθovίαι (**2**, line 2) is a later development of the Hermionian alphabet, and that Dorotheos is the elder of the two sculptors, a conclusion based on H. Pomtow's restoration of an inscription at Delphi which he dates to 460 (*Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 170 ff.; *R.E.*, Suppl. 4, No. 22, pp. 1239-40). E. Bourguet has shown the impossibility of Pomtow's total restoration and reconstruction and although Δο[ρόθεος . . .] | Ἀργ[είος] is a possible restoration we are no closer thereby to dating Dorotheos vis-à-vis Kresilas (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 1929, pp. 326 ff. on No. 502). Raubitschek does not consider Bourguet's rejection of Pomtow.

⁸ Paus., II, 35, 5-7; Aelian, *de Nat. An.*, XI, 4; *I.G.*, IV, 679 (*S.I.G.*³, 1051); a coin of Hermione under the empire shows a cow being led by an attendant, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (reprinted from *J.H.S.*, 1885, 1886, 1887), p. 51, No. 6, plate M, iii.

⁹ E.g., a bronze bull being led to sacrifice in front of a temple containing an image of Triptolemos in the Eleusinion in Athens (Paus., I, 14, 4); two bronze bulls at Olympia (Paus., V, 27, 9); at Delphi, a bull (Paus., V, 27, 9 and X, 9, 4) and two bronze oxen (Paus. X, 15, 1 and 16, 6); at Sparta, a bronze ox (Polemon *ap.* Athenaeus, XIII, 574c-d). Attempts have been made to recon-

sculptors,¹⁰ suggest the possibility that these bases carried bronze images of the cows of the Chthonia ritual. The repetition is not unreasonable; this cult and the stories connected with it were Hermione's chief claim to fame.¹¹

The cuttings on those bases whose upper surfaces are visible permit this hypothesis (see Pl. 50, Nos. 2, 4, and 1, from front to back). The two fifth-century bases (1 and 2) have large holes to receive the dowels for the hooves of the animals, forming parallelograms with right feet, front and rear, advanced (on 2, the hole for the right rear foot is covered with mortar but there can be little doubt of its existence); this agrees with the walking gait seen in the fifth-century statuettes of both cows and horses.¹² The fourth-century base dedicated by Euphoros (4) has only three hoof-marks: the left front foot is raised and both left feet are forward; this shows the greater freedom probably already achieved in the fifth century in free-standing statues of horses.¹³ In later times, to judge from bronze statuettes and Roman marbles of cattle, the type with one foot raised was very popular.¹⁴

struct these statues, primarily through the remains of bases. Several other statues are known from coins. A convenient, though incomplete, list of small bronze cattle of the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ is given by N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, Lund, 1938, p. 446.

¹⁰ E. g., Myron's heifer on the Acropolis at Athens, later removed to Rome (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 57); the four bulls attributed to Myron by Propertius (II, 31, 7), if not by him perhaps inspired by his success; the twelve bronze cows of Phradmon of Argos, a contemporary of Kresilas (he too competed in the contest for an Amazon for Ephesos, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 53), at the temple of Itonian Athena in Thessaly (*Anth. Pal.*, IX, 743, Theodoridas); Strongyllion was known for his bulls and horses (Paus., IX, 30, 1). Many of the Roman copies of statues in stone and statuettes in bronze are probably derived from well-known Greek types, though attempts at specific identification have not been successful.

¹¹ Cf. the hymn of Lasos of Hermione, Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III, p. 376, fr. 1, and Strabo, VIII, 6, 12. Though Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 19) certainly exaggerates when he says the Greeks dedicated equestrian statues only for victories in the games, the great majority of such dedications were for military or athletic victories; there is no reason to connect the Hermionian dedications with either class. Images of cattle are likely to have represented sacrificial animals, cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 295 ff.

¹² Statuette of horse from Olympia, dated 455-445 B.C.: S. D. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, Baltimore, 1943, p. 120, fig. 37; E. Kunze and H. Schleiff, *Jahrb.*, LVI, 1941, Suppl. pp. 133-143, pl. 59-64; E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*, Munich, 1948, fig. 74; G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*, New York, 1949, fig. 299. Horse statuette in Metropolitan Museum, New York, first quarter of fifth century B.C.: Markman, *op. cit.*, p. 62, fig. 31; Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 2nd ed., New Haven, 1950, fig. 350; Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, London, 1930, figs. 62, 63; Richter, *Archaic Art*, fig. 298. Cows: e. g., the Paris statuette, second half of fifth century B.C.: Richter, *Sculpture*, p. 464, fig. 357; Richter, *Animals*, fig. 98; E. Babelon and J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, p. 478, No. 1157. Delphi statuette, ca. 500 B.C.: Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pp. 52-53, pl. XVI; Richter, *Animals*, fig. 88; Richter, *Sculpture*, fig. 354. Cf. the bull of the Eretrians at Olympia, *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, II, p. 147, Tafelband II, pl. XCII, No. 12.

¹³ E. g., the dedication of the *Hippês* on the Acropolis at Athens, which probably had both the left front and right rear foot raised, shortly after 457 B.C., G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 82-83, fig. 5, and Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 135. Cf. Markman's analysis of the gait of the Metro-

All these cuttings could have been used for either cattle or horses, but on **1**, the earlier of the two fifth-century bases, supporting the statue by Dorotheos, there is a carefully cut round hole, 0.026 m. in diameter and 0.015 m. deep, 0.016 m. to the right and slightly behind the left rear foot, and 0.048 m. to the right and behind the right rear foot. The hole is to be explained as for a short support for the low-hanging tail of a cow. There is no question of a support for a horse's tail at this date in a work in bronze.¹⁵ The tail of cattle is naturally long and cannot be bobbed; it was cast as a separate piece, in all probability, and, added to the body, was in considerable danger of fracture unless braced by a support.¹⁶ The problem was usually solved by supporting it partly on the flank or leg of the animal,¹⁷ but even when braced against a leg it might still project and on a large scale require some fastening.¹⁸ Furthermore, there are examples where the body itself was not used as a support¹⁹ and to these

politan statuette, *op. cit.*, p. 167. The horses on the façade of St. Mark's are derived by Markman, pp. 130-131, from originals of 310-290 B.C., not of the second half of the fifth century B.C. as by Richter, *Animals*, pp. 59-60, fig. 70.

¹⁴ Some at least of these must go back to Greek originals, e. g., the Roman copy of a Hellenistic bull in the Metropolitan Museum, Richter, *Animals*, fig. 104; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, IV, Paris, 1910, p. 485. 1, with which cf. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1949, No. 253, p. 112, pl. 51; Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, 1897, pp. 734, 735, 736, etc.

¹⁵ In Geometric and Archaic art the tails of horses touched or came close to the ground, cf. Markman, *op. cit.* figs. 5-7, 9-11, 16-22, 25; Richter, *Animals*, figs. 49-54; the use of the early bronzes must also be considered. In two dimensions and relief the long tail hairs continued to be shown trailing low, e. g., Richter, *Animals*, fig. 71. Marble copies often needed support where none had existed in the original bronze: on the equestrian statue of Nonius Balbus, the elder, in Naples, the tail is continued to the base in the form of a square pillar, L. v. Schlözer, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 152, fig. 12. Small bronzes of both horses and cattle continue to use the tail as a support and are of course no evidence for supports for the tail on larger figures, e. g., C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Boston, 1905, pl. LXXV, 24. The horses on the façade of St. Mark's show the treatment once the anatomy had been fully mastered, Richter, *Animals*, fig. 70; L. v. Schlözer, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 129 ff.; cf. note 13 (*supra*), *ad fin.*

¹⁶ For the natural position of the tail as conceived by fifth-century artists, hanging down behind and ending only slightly above the fetlocks, see Richter, *Animals*, figs. 92, 97, 100. Varro, *de Re rust.*, II, 5, 8, recommends cattle whose tails are long, reaching to the heels and ending in a tuft. For separate attachment on a small bronze figure cf. K. A. Neugebauer, *Die griechische Bronzen der Klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus*, Berlin, 1951, No. 54, p. 63.

¹⁷ On the flank, e. g., the Paris cow, note 12 (*supra*) and the Kerameikos bull, Richter, *Animals*, fig. 103. A variation has the tail arching up before touching the flank, e. g., Richter, *Animals*, fig. 104. Against a leg, e. g., R. Delbrueck, *Röm. Mitt.*, XVI, 1901, pl. IV; H. N. Couch, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 45, figs. 1, 2; Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, No. 30 (Olympia), No. 39 (Kabeirion near Thebes).

¹⁸ Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, p. 733. 5; p. 734. 2 and 4; III, p. 214. 6 and 7; IV, p. 485. 5.

¹⁹ E. g., Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, p. 731. 1 (Ostia), p. 732. 3 (Athens); p. 733. 2 (Tegea); II, p. 733. 4 and IV, p. 484. 5 (Kabeirion); Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, No. 28 and No. 29 (Olympia). I can see no support for the tail in the photograph of the statuette from Scafati near Pompeii, *Notizie*, 1899, p. 395 (cf. Reinach, III, p. 214. 9 and IV, p. 485. 5). Cf. an Athenian coin of the Roman period, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 146, plate DD, vii, viii, and O. Benndorf,

should probably be added the negative evidence of some of the tailless survivors.²⁰ The awkwardness of an artificial support and the risks in employing this treatment without a support (loss of the tail mutilated an animal statue, cf. Paus. V, 27, 3) clearly discouraged its use and it is significant that only Dorotheos appears to have employed it. I suggest, however, that not only this base but the other three statues as well represented the special victims of Demeter Chthonia. Failing acceptance of this suggestion, the small cutting on **1** can be explained as part of a repair for a horse's tail, though even so such a repair is more likely to have been required for a cow.

5 (Pl. 50). Limestone base lying on its right side near the northeast corner of the Venetian tower, covered by rubble and fill.²¹

Height, 0.75 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.41 m. The height of the inscribed face, between the crowning and base mouldings, is 0.61 m. Height of letters, 0.013 m. (*omikron*, 0.010 m.).

Φιλοκλῆς Καλλικράτεος Μεγαλοπολίτας
ἐποίησε

The same signature is found at Epidauros, *I.G.*, IV², 1, 656, lines 7-8, on a statue base honoring Laphanta (the second of that name known to us in that family, cf. stemma, *I.G.*, IV², 1, p. xxv), where Hiller suggested that the Philokles signature was added at the end of the second century after Christ to the honorary inscription of the first century. But neither of the signatures (which in general style resemble each other)²² is inconsistent with a series of inscriptions at Epidauros touching the lifetime of two generations on either side of Laphanta (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 214-220; they show the wide-looped *mu* of the Hermione signature). The one fixed date for the family is 74 B.C. when Laphanta's father was honored by the city (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 66, cf. *S.E.G.*, XI, 1950, 397). There seems to be no reason to assign either of the Philokles signatures to a date later than the erection of the statue of Laphanta, i. e., the last half of the first century before Christ or the beginning of the first century after Christ (cf. G. Lippold, *R.E.*, "Philokles").

Inscriptions **6-15** are now in the garden of the Papabasileios family in the plain

Jahreshefte, I, 1898, p. 195, fig. 52. Cf. also the statues of two oriental bulls at Pergamon on a bronze coin, A. de Villefosse, *Rev. Num.*, 1902, pp. 234 ff.; *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Mysia*, p. 152, pl. 30, 7; A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, I, Cambridge, 1914, p. 119, fig. 88.

²⁰ Notably, the Delphi statuette, note 12 (*supra*), and Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, No. 54.

²¹ The limestone base in the foreground of the photograph on Pl. 50 is preserved only to a height of 0.51 m., the top being broken off; width, 0.64 m.; thickness, at least 0.55 m. About 0.32 m. from the highest point preserved Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς) in large letters.

²² Facsimile of the Epidauros signature in P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, Athens, 1893, I, 28.

known as the Kampos outside the town of Hermione on the right-hand side of the road to Kranidi, the ancient straight road to Mases (Paus., II, 35, 11 and 36, 1). The garden is next to the modern cemetery and above a part of the ancient cemetery (cf. A. Philadelphus, *Πρακτικά*, 1909, pp. 179 ff.). The location accounts for the sepulchral character of most of the inscriptions collected there. With the possible exception of **11**, all probably date from the Christian era.

6 (Pl. 50). Fragment of light gray limestone broken on all sides; the left margin of the text is preserved between lines 2 and 5. There seem to be traces of letters or of a carved decoration on the left edge of the inscribed surface, approximately level with lines 2 and 3, which, combined with the irregular margin, suggests that the base may have honored more than one person and carried more than one inscription.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.025-0.029 m.; distance between lines, 0.01 m. Lines 4 and 5 are indented 0.01 m. from the left margin.

Αὐτοκρά[τορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκον) Αὐ-]
 ρήλιον Ἀν[τωνεῖνον Σε-]
 βαστόν, Α[ὐτοκράτο-]
 ρος Καίσ[αρος Δ(ουκίου) Σεπτι-]
 5 μίου Σεο[νήρου Περ-]
 τίνακος [ἀνεικήτου]
 [υῖόν, ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν]
 [Ἑρμιονέων τὸν αὐτῆς]
 [εὐεργέτην]

This inscription honoring Caracalla is probably to be associated with *I.G.*, IV, 704, honoring Julia Domna, and *I.G.*, IV, 705, honoring Geta, both from Hermione, despite the spelling Σεονῆρος here but Σενηῆρος in Fourmont's transcription of *I.G.*, IV, 704, 705. On the probable contemporaneity of the latter two see Fraenkel on *I.G.*, IV, 705. Caracalla is here designated Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ as in 704; Geta in 704 and 705 is only Καίσαρ Σεβαστός. The date of the group lies between A.D. 198, when Caracalla received the title *Imperator* and Geta that of *Caesar*, and 209 when Geta was also made *Imperator*.²³

7 (Pl. 50). Marble fragment, probably from a curved dedicatory base, broken on all sides; above the inscription, a groove and a simple cavetto moulding.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Maximum height of in-

²³ Cf. G. J. Murphy, *The Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus from the Evidence of the Inscriptions*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1945, pp. 104-105.

scribed surface, 0.09 m., and width, 0.13 m. Height of moulding, 0.045 m. Height of letters, 0.020-0.022 m. The letters are deeply and evenly cut.

Πε]ρτίνα[κα vel -κος

Probably an honorary dedication for one of the Severi. Cf. **6** (*supra*) and *I.G.*, IV, 704, 705.

8 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a marble grave stele (?) broken on all sides and back. Relief of a kicking foot on right; reaching to 0.055 m. from the right edge.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.55 m. Height of letters, lines 1-3, 0.02 m.; line 4, 0.025 m. The letters are deeply and evenly cut. Distance between lines 1 and 2, and between 2 and 3, 0.005-0.007 m.; between lines 3 and 4, 0.020-0.023 m.

----- τοῖς γλυ[πτοῖς -
- τοῖς] δὲ λοιποῖς -----
--- οὐ]δέτερον -----

----- M [1-2] MYP -----

Line 1: γλυπ[τοῖς, cf. γ[λυ]πτὸν τόδε σᾶμα of a grave stele with a relief, Argos (*S.E.G.*, XI, 344, line 2).

Line 4: probably a proper name, e. g., Μυρ[τίλον, cf. *S.E.G.*, XI, 385 (= Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 69, No. 16, note a).

9 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a thin marble slab, broken on all sides except for the rough back. There appears to be a lightly scratched guide line along the left margin (preserved below line 1) which extends below the inscribed area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.035 m. Height of letters, lines 1 and 2, 0.010 m.; lines 3 and 4, 0.013 m. Distance between lines 0.006 m.

[.] ΑΝΙΚΑΞΤΑΙ --
-που Προκοπ[ι -
συναγωγῇ[--
πιστὸς Ω --
vacat

Line 1: Τ or, less probably, Ι or Γ.

Line 2: Προκοπ[ι-, i. e., Procopius, cf. J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudai-carum*, Rome, 1936, I, No. 132, 137.

Line 3: Other Jewish communities in or near the Peloponnesos are known at Patrai (Frey, No. 716 [*C.I.G.*, 9896], cf. 717 [*I.G.*, IX, 2, 232]), Corinth (Frey, No. 718 [Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, 1, No. 111], cf. *Act. Ap.* 18. 4), Argos (Frey, No. 719 [*B.C.H.*, XXVII, 1903, pp. 262-3, No. 4]), Mantinea (Frey, No. 720 [*B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, pp. 159-61, No. 27], No. 721 [*Coll. of Anc. Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.*, II, p. 9, No. 149]), Aegina (Frey, Nos. 722-3 [*I.G.*, IV, 190], cf. No. 724 [*I.G.*, IV, 191]). A Jewish community in Hermione is perhaps to be explained by the local purple industry (Plut., *Alex.*, 36; Alciphron, III, 46, 4; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἀλιεύς) for it seems likely that at Hierapolis in Phrygia the Jews constituted the guild of purple dyers and weavers.²⁴

The plaque is probably sepulchral, cf. line 4 πιστός ὁ[ν τῷ Θεῷ(?) with the use of πιστός in Christian gravestones²⁵ (or ὁ[δε κεῖται, e. g., Frey, No. 129, although usually at the beginning of epitaphs).

10 (Pl. 50). Marble gravestone, broken on right and in upper left-hand corner.

Height, 0.305 m.; maximum width, 0.335 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Left-hand margin, 0.135-0.150 m.; upper margin, 0.050 m.; lower margin, 0.055 m. Height of letters, 0.025-0.030 m.; omikron, 0.015 m. Distance between lines, 0.025-0.030 m.

Ἑρμίας — — —
 ζήσας — — —
 ἐν ἐπισκοπ[ῇ —
 ἥδε τούτου — —

Lines 1 and 2 contained, respectively, the deceased's patronymic or ethnic and his age at death (cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 1253, 1254, 1264).

Lines 3 and 4: e. g., ἐν ἐπισκοπ[ῇ τῶν δέινων ἦτω] | ἥδε τούτου [θήκη vel τάφη, cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1179, lines 21-28 (*S.I.G.*³, 1240). Alternatively, in line 4, ἡ δὲ τούτου [ψυχῇ, with the common contrast between the fate of the body and the soul.²⁶

11 Upper right-hand corner of a marble grave stele, broken at left and bottom; simple moulding above and projecting to the right.

²⁴ E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 129 and Krauss, *R.E.*, "Synagoge," p. 1300, but cf. Judeich, *Altortümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft IV, 1898), p. 174.

²⁵ E. g., *I.G.*, III, 3435, Athens; *I.G.*, XIV, 2265, Florence, A.D. 417; *Mon. As. Min. Ant.*, I, 162, line 4, Laodicea Combusta. However, the Christian use is first datable in the 5th cent. A.D. and refers to the baptized; cf. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit.*, VII, pp. 677-78.

²⁶ Cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.*, Nos. 35 and 41 (*I.G.*, II, 3620 and 3720, respectively, Piraeus, 4th cent. B.C.) and No. 261, lines 11-12 (Corcyra, 2nd cent. A.D.); *I.G.*, XIV, 2002, line 4 (Rome, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.) and for Hermione, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., *S.E.G.*, XI, 384 (Peck, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 68, No. 16). On the subject in general, see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXVIII, 1942, 1-2), pp. 31 ff.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Height of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Letters evenly cut. Surface worn.

———·χ]αῖρε
vacat

The bar of the *alpha* is straight; the middle bar of the right-angled *epsilon* very short. Late 4th-3rd century before Christ(?)

12 (Pl. 50). Reddish stone, broken left, right, and bottom; back smooth.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.017 m.-0.023 m. The letters are placed irregularly between lightly scratched guide lines, starting from the top of the stone at intervals of 0.023 m., 0.019 m., 0.023 m., 0.019 m., 0.023 m., 0.012 m., and 0.013 m. The last line is very lightly scratched; the interval above it is blank in the preserved portion of the inscription and the distance preserved below it is 0.036 m. On the guide lines in early Christian epitaphs in Attica, see J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens," *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 21-22.

— — — εἰρήνη — — — — —
— — —]σαμεν — — — — —
— ? ὅν]ωμα μα[— — — — —
— — —]τερες εὐ[— — — — —
— — Διονυσία — — — — —
— ν]ήπιον β[ρέφος ? —
vacat

Line 1: If εἰρήνη is not a personal name, cf. either the idea *in pace* (a Jewish and Christian use, L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, "Epigraphie Chrétienne," *Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit.*, VII, 674 and 684) or *pax vobis* (*ibid.*, 684).

Line 2: e. g., ἐτελευτή]σαμεν.²⁷

Line 3: Perhaps σ]ωμα. The final *alpha* in this line and the *upsilon* of line 4 are certain.

13 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a thin marble slab, broken on all sides except back.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.003 m.

²⁷ The joint graves of a husband and wife are particularly common among Christians, according to Creaghan and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 6-7, but W. M. Calder, *Cl. Rev.*, LXII, 1948, p. 152, demurs.

— ΔΙΟΦΕ —
 — ἈΝΩ —
 — \-Μ —

Line 3: Only the looping cross-bar of the late *mu* is preserved.

14 (Pl. 50, photograph of a squeeze). Christian grave stone, thin marble slab, broken on all sides except for the smooth back.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.015-0.020 m., varying from line to line, as does the distance between lines.

† ἔχει δὲ ὁ αὐ[τὸς ? — — — — —]
 μαρὰν ἀθά[— τοῦ Ἰούδα]
 τοῦ προδότ[ου — — — — — ἀ]
 γισθιήτω — — — — —
 ἄρον σταυ[ρόν — — — — —]

The position of the cross normally would indicate that the first line of the inscription is preserved or that a symbol or monogram at the most has been lost (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 14, pl. III, Nos. XV and XVII, pl. X, No. 31). But in view of the δέ in line 1 (unless this is a scriptural quotation) we should probably assume that the name of the deceased, written in some manner so as to be distinct from the body of the text (e. g., *κοιμητήριον τοῦ δέινος*), has been lost from the top of the stone.

Line 1: ἔχει probably = ἔχοι (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 28, No. IX). For the sense of the line, cf. perhaps *I.G.*, VII, 175, lines 5-6, ἐκνυθήτη ἐν εἰρήν(η) ὁ αὐ[τὸς τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Λουκάς (the first two lines had proclaimed this to be the grave of Loukas and his wife Kyriake), but the restoration αὐ[τὸς is not altogether certain.²⁸

Line 2: ἀθά or ἀθάν. In view of the single instance of this Syriac phrase likely to be familiar to European Christians, 1 *Ep. Cor.*, 16. 22, εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα, μαρὰν ἀθά (cf. *I.G.*, III, 3509, the disturber of the grave is to answer to God καὶ ἀνάθεμα ἦτω μαρὰν ἀθάν), it is possible that the phrase

²⁸ Judging only from the squeeze, the break after the *v* of line 1 seems to have occurred along the vertical line of the next letter and favors *γ*, *ε*, *ρ* or *σ* rather than *τ*. In view of such warnings as ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁ ἀνύγων χωρὶς τῷ κυρίῳ, Pessinus, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. Oest.-Ung.*, VII, 1883, p. 184, No. 54 (quoted in *J.R.S.*, XIV, 1924, p. 37, note 1) and κατάκριμα τοῦ Ἰούδα ἐχέτω ὁ ἀνύξας, Athens, *I.G.*, III, 1428, it is tempting to suggest ἔχει δὲ ὁ ἀ<ν>ύ[γων and understand all the first three lines as containing the warning. Cf. the sense of μαρὰν ἀθά suggested in the text. For the name of the deceased followed by a sentence of warning with the particle δέ, cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 30, No. XII.

was not only used to add force to imprecations but popularly understood as itself an imprecation and not as ὁ Κύριος ἡκει.²⁹

Line 3: the curse of Judas, ὁ προδότης, on whoever disturbs the grave.³⁰

Lines 3-4: ἀ] | γισθιήτω, cf. ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, *Ev. Matth.* 6. 9, etc.

15* (Pl. 51). Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 47-52 (*S.E.G.*, XI, 377). The Hermione copy of the arbitration of a border dispute with Epidaurios (known already from the less complete Epidaurios copy, *I.G.*, IV², 1, 75, *S.E.G.*, XI, 405), probably found by Philadelphus in the course of his excavations on the Bisti in 1908 (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1909, 174), published by Peek in 1934 and commented upon by A. Wilhelm, "Ein Gebietsstreit in der Argolis," *Anz. d. Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, LXXXV, 1948, No. 4, pp. 58-79, who had previously contributed greatly to the understanding of the Epidaurios copy. (All references to Wilhelm will be to this latest article.) The following remarks are concerned with the topographical problems of the arbitration and with the interpretation of the text as it relates to these problems. For maps of the district, see the sketch map, Plate 49,³¹ and compare the Tabula I of *I.G.*, IV², 1, and Peek's Abbildung 2, p. 51, whose topography, however, is misleading.

Date: beginning of the second century before Christ.³² Two boards of arbitrators, from Miletos and Rhodes, give their identical decisions (discrepancies are inadvertant and purely verbal). The Hermionians lodged a complaint against the Epidaurians over some land. The area under dispute is <ἡ χώρα> κατὰ Σελλᾶντα καὶ Ἀγρίους Λιμένας ἄχρι τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος (lines 14-15). The decision by the arbitrators was: εἶναι ταύτην κοινὴν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων (line 15). There follows a description of the land by means of a participial clause modifying ταύτην <sc. χώραν>: οὖσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους οἱ εἰσιν βολεοὶ λίθοι κείμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Φιλανορείας καὶ κατ' ἄκρας τὰς Κολούρας ἕως τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος κατ' εὐθυορίαν ἕως εἰς θάλασ-

²⁹ Cf. H. Leclercq, *Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit.*, X, pp. 1729-30, who quotes a Spanish canon of the seventh century after Christ in which, as here, both *anathema maranatha* and the curse of Judas are used.

³⁰ Cf. *I.G.*, IV, 628, Argos, ἐχέ[τω] τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ προδότου. Ἀμήν; *I.G.*, III, 1428, quoted in note 28 (*supra*); *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 274, Delphi, not later than the sixth century after Christ, [ἔχοι τ]ὴν μερίδα τοῦ Εἰουδᾶ τοῦ [προδότου] τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰ[ησοῦ Χριστοῦ]. In general see H. Leclercq, "Ad Sanctos," *Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit.*, I, p. 485 and "Judas Iscariote," *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 272-77; Ch. Michel, "Anathema," *ibid.*, I, pp. 1933-34.

³¹ Prepared by V. B. Jameson from the British Army series 1: 100,000 GREECE, Sheets K8, L8 (1943, from a Greek map dated 1941), but with place names from various sources including local informants. See also the map in the valuable book by A. Miliarakis, *Γεωγραφία πολιτικὴ νέα καὶ ἀρχαία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας*, Athens, 1886 and the map by I. Sarris, *Ἀργολιδοκορινθία - Ἀνατ. Ἀρκαδία*, 1: 170,000, published by N. Sideris, Athens.

³² Cf. Hiller on *I.G.*, IV², 1, 75. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, with reference to *I.G.*, IV², 1, 74, suggests that common rights were established in the first half of the third century B.C. and renewed in the first half of the second.

σαν | τὰ πρὸς νότον ὡς ὕδατα καταρεῖ (lines 16-19). There follows mention of crops, grazing, goats, and tax collectors.

The usual topographic identifications, which will be found in the articles of Peek and Wilhelm (cited *supra*), are briefly as follows: ³³ in the general description of the area, the Σελλᾶς, understood as a river name (cf. Σελλῆεις, *Iliad*, II, 659, 839; Strabo, VIII, 3, 5 and XIII, 1, 20), is identified with the Μπεδένι (or Ἰρι) river, the only considerable stream in the Argolic Akte (see Pl. 51 a, looking downstream towards the mountains of Kynouria from the abandoned monastery of Ἅγιος Δημήτριος τοῦ Αὐγοῦ). Ἀγριοι Λιμένες are identified with the bay of Βουρλιά to the south of Ἰρι, as the harbors most likely to be under dispute.³⁴ Στρουθοῦς, known from Pausanias (II, 36, 3) as a cape lying to the right of Mases (modern Koilada) as one comes from Hermione, is usually identified with Κάβο-Βουρλιά, the eastern of the two points that form Vourlia bay. It could as well be Κάβο-Ἰρι to the west of the bay (or even, to the south of the bay of Σαλάντι, Ἀκροτήρι Σαλάντι, called Καρτέρι on some maps). Thus the area in dispute is thought to lie in the vicinity of two places on the seacoast and a river valley.

The area that is to be held in common by Epidauros and Hermione is defined by border markers called *Boleoi*, which start near a certain Philanoreia, and by a line of heights, described as κολούραι, reaching the sea at cape Strouthous. This whole area is understood to be part of the Didymia. All these places are mentioned by Pausanias.³⁵ The Didymia is the territory attached to the ancient Δίδυμοι, modern Δίδυμο (officially Δίδυμα), an enclosed valley and village under the high twin-peaked mountain which accounts for the name, and separated from the Bedeni valley by the long ridges of the mountain Αὐγό. There can be little doubt that in ancient times the village was attached to Hermione, as Pausanias implies.³⁶ The remaining points have

³³ A more detailed discussion of the area based on a visit in June of 1950 is included in a paper of the American School by my wife and me, "An Archaeological Survey of the Hermionid," pp. 88-114.

³⁴ Cf. Hesychius, *s.v.*: τόπος ἐν Ἑρμιόνι. Hiller in the geographic index of *I.G.*, IV², 1, p. 166, compares *I.G.*, IV², 1, 108, lines 156 and 168, Ἀγριάς—a local division of Epidauria? The Admiralty chart, *Gulf of Nauplia*, 1518, marks on the west side of the bay a small harbor which it calls "Xerólimni"; locally it is known now as Ξερολιμάνι. A fisherman at Koilada, when asked about Vourlia, described the district as ὅλα ἄγρια. There is a fine spring and grazing for flocks but no cultivated fields. The coast between Vourlia and Salanti, the first valley to the east after the coast turns south towards Koilada, is described as barren but no doubt is grazed.

³⁵ Paus., II, 36, 3-4: ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρουθοῦντα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεούς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροὶ λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ὃ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν· ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἔστι δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Δῆμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ. 4. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτε Ἀσιναιῶν καλουμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ.

³⁶ One inscription is known from Didymo, *I.G.*, IV, 746 (see Pl. 51), a cyclindrical limestone base built into the outside of the chapel of Hagia Marina: height, 0.80 m. (of which 0.32 m. belong

not been located. The *βολεοὶ λίθοι* or *λίθων* (the latter in the Rhodian decision, Epidauros copy, *S.E.G.*, XI, 405, line 34) are described by Pausanias as *σωροὶ λογάδων*.³⁷ Both in the inscriptions and in Pausanias they are closely connected with a place called *Φιλανορεία* (inscriptions; *Φιλανόριον*, Paus.). Wilhelm, who explains the name as property, perhaps a *heroon*, belonging to one *Φιλάνωρ* (cf. Pindar, *Ol.*, 12, 13; Paus., VI, 4, 11), would look for it on the ridge of Avgo between the monastery of Hagios Demetrios and Didymo.³⁸ Our examination of this bleak ridge was not exhaustive but the spot is highly improbable. More attractive for Wilhelm's interpretation would be the small, level, upland valley called *Μαλαβρία*, between the ridge and the monastery, although there too no clues were found.³⁹ Pausanias gives a distance of 250 stades from Strouthous to Philanorion and the Boleoi, and thence 20 stades to Didymoi. Wilhelm convincingly accounts for the obvious error of the former figure by the palaeographical confusion of Ν καὶ C for Ν καὶ Ε. The correction, 55 stades (11 km.), agrees with Wilhelm's topography but also with the identifications proposed below. *Ἀκραι αἱ Κολούραι* are identified with Pausanias's *τῶν ὀρῶν αἱ κορυφαί* and in turn with the ridge of Avgo reaching the sea in either of the two promontories flanking the bay of Vourlia, and thus, *ἕως τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος*; the "dock-tailed heights" have been thought to describe its rounded, blunt appearance. Wilhelm, however, thinks rather of the hollow curving ridge forming the two capes of Vourlia and Iri and containing the bay of Vourlia.⁴⁰

to the roughly curved capital); visible width, 0.40 m.; height of letters, 0.035 m. Under many layers of whitewash the body of the initial *phi* appears diamond shaped. *Φάντα | Ἀριστομήδα | Δάματρι | δεκάταν.* The festival of H. Marina here is on July 18th, "with the figs," as the people say; for Demeter and figs, see Paus., I, 37, 2, and cf. note 35 (*supra*).

³⁷ We were able to find no convincing remains of the Boleoi and have no great hopes that they can be discovered. Shepherds, who know the district well and notice such things, doubt that such markers would survive and since they are the ones who would be the cause of their destruction (even as they are often responsible for the construction of cairns) their opinion is not without weight. To be sure, a later settlement could have caused their removal in ancient times.

³⁸ Cf. Ernst Mayer, *R.E.*, "Philanoreia," p. 2124. This is the point suggested on a number of earlier maps, e.g., with a query, on the southern sheet of G. B. Grundy's excellent *Graecia*, 1: 633,600, in "Murray's Handy Classical Maps."

³⁹ A single Ionic capital of late though careful workmanship capping the lone column in the chapel of Hagios Demetrios and Hagios Theodoros in the monastery near by is no evidence of ancient remains in the immediate neighborhood in view of the absence of all other ancient blocks in the Byzantine chapel. It may well come from the area of Sheshe, Peleï, and Voithiki above the narrows of the Bedeni river where ancient habitation is reported, cf. Miliarakis, *op. cit.*, p. 214, and K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 561. I saw two worked blocks at Sheshe and heard in Didymo of occasional discoveries.

⁴⁰ Cf. Suidas, *κολουραία πέτρα· κοίλη, κεκαμμένη, ἢ στρογγύλη*, on Callimachus, fr. 235 Pfeiffer (72 K., 66 Schn.); cf. also the ring-shaped bread known in modern Greek as *κονλούρι*, from *κολούρι* with vowel assimilation. See further Wilhelm, *Anz. Wien. Akad.*, 1927, pp. 218-19. For a different explanation of the name *Κόλουρις* on Salamis, equally applicable here, see A. Ch. Chatzes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1930, p. 59, line 8, and pp. 60, 63 ff. The Argive demotic *Κόλουρις* no doubt derives from a place name; see Guarducci, *Annuario*, N.S., III-V, 1941-43, p. 142, lines 26, 40-41, and p. 150.

The boundary line resulting from these identifications runs from east to west along the south of the Bedeni river valley and comes to the sea at Kavo-Vourlia. This line has to be taken in connection with the general area under dispute, according to the usual identifications: the Agrioi Limenes of the bay of Vourlia, and the Sellas understood as the Bedeni river. The proposed line can then only serve as a southern boundary to the *κοινή χώρα*.

There are three difficulties in this: (1) It is doubtful that the Bedeni valley, including the Iri plain—for the text does not warrant our separating the two—can have belonged to the Didymia. The river valley is separated from Didymo and its mountain by the ridge of Avgo along whose north face, well below the crest, a sharp line of cliffs forms the clearest natural boundary in the district. The Iri plain is connected rather with the Kandia plain to the north.⁴¹ For the coastline of Epidaurus on the Argolic gulf, Scylax (51) gives a figure of 30 stades which, if taken from the inlet of Drepanon coming after the Asine plain, brings us well into the coastline of the Iri plain. Today Didymiotes work the plain of Malavria and, to the north, Sheshe (Σέσε) and Peleï, but the valley below the monastery is farmed by recent immigrants from the Tripolis region who live in villages on the slopes north of the river (Kounoupitsa and Stavropodi). It was no lack of man power—they boast the highest rate of emigration in the Hermionid—that prevented the exploitation of the valley by the Didymiotes on the confiscation of the monastery lands in the twenties when Hagios Demitrios and the whole valley attached to it was abandoned. Judging by present conditions the Bedeni valley was not in antiquity a disputed *χώρα* farmed by Epidaurians from outside the valley and Hermionians from Didymoi, but contained permanent farms worked by people settled in the valley, then as now, and probably constituted one or more of the Epidaurian “demes” whose names are known from inscriptions.⁴²

⁴¹ K. Gebauer found evidence of activity, presumably Epidaurian or Argive, in the Kandia plain in late Hellenistic or early Roman times. See *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 557-62; 1939, cols. 287-94; 1940, cols. 220-21. A stone bearing the inscription Ὁρος | Ἀσκλη | πιοῦ, *I.G.*, IV², 1, 701 (*I.G.*, IV, 911), now built into the corner of the home of Georgios Papatheophanis at Karnezeika (see Pl. 49), was seen there by Kontakis (Ἀθήναιον, VIII, 1879, pp. 371 ff.) and reported to have been found in the Kandia plain; we were told, however, that it came from the plain of Iri. Since there has been some doubt about the letter forms, I add a few details (cf. Pl. 50): broken-barred *alpha*; projecting horizontal bar on the *pi*; wide base on the *rho* but no base on the *upsilon* which has wide, straight serifs at right angles to the arms; cross bars, top and bottom, on the *iota*. There is no reason to suppose this stone marks the border of Epidaurus or of the sanctuary at Lygourion. Rather we must suppose with Hiller (on *I.G.*, IV², 1, 701) an *ager sacer* probably belonging to the Lygourion sanctuary (a μετόχι, so to speak). This implies that the territory was Epidaurian.

⁴² Cf. *I.G.*, IV², 1, Index Locorum, s.v. Ἐπίδαυρος. At Karnezeika we saw the lower half of a large, ancient mill. There are two strong points on the right-hand, northern, side of the valley (cf. E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, Gotha, 1852, p. 429): one, called Γυφτόκαστρο (also known as Καστράκι and Τὸ Κάστρο τοῦ Καπιτάνου), dominates the entrance to the Bedeni valley after the open Iri plain (K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1939, col. 294); the other is the *kastro* a half hour above the village of

It is a question, however, whether the text requires that the *chôra* itself lie *within* the Didymia. Certainly the general location of the area within the Didymia at this point in the decision seems out of place. The words τῆς Διδυμίας should perhaps be taken together with what follows as a single phrase τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους, as the attributive use of the partitive genitive of place: "in the region of the Didymia along the borders which are . . ."; the borders would then be those of the territory of Didymoi.⁴³

(2) Even if the common territory, and so the Bedeni valley, need not be regarded as part of the Didymia, what of a northern and eastern border? If the Bedeni is the Sellas, the proposed line is only a southern boundary. It seems unlikely that the other boundaries were taken for granted. They could hardly consist of the river itself for the valley is very narrow and the land along it lies now on one side, now on the other. On the Iri plain the river is dry in summer and fall and the bed is constantly shifting. Nor do the heights on the right bank form a clear boundary as do the cliffs on the left bank; much of the usable land lies above the river some 400 m. above sea level. Upstream, two smaller streams join to form the river, but the point of juncture is not a natural limit to the area downstream. Finally, the Iri plain, though it narrows considerably, is not separated completely from the Kandia plain to the north. For the definition of an area, and not simply a border line as in the Corinth-Epidauros dispute (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 71), the terms, as they have been identified, are impossibly vague.

(3) The line described in the decision of the arbitrators cannot in any case be a *southern* boundary, for τὰ πρὸς νότον can only refer to an area *south* of the line where it comes to the sea at Strouthous.⁴⁴ Wilhelm, realizing the difficulty, proposes that the participial clause beginning with οὔσαν, which agrees with ταύτην <sc. χώραν>, *excepts*

Stavropodi at a height of 569 m., high above the juncture of the two streams that form the Bedeni river, overlooking the Tracheia valley to the east and the whole ridge of Avgo down to Kavo-Iri and the sea, to the south and west. Both sites (the former certainly) may date to Mycenaean times; the rubble walls of Kastro Stavropodiu—a circuit of some 400 m. may be traced—and the absence of sherds provide no criteria. No doubt it is the *palaiokastron* marked on the map in Miliarakis, *op. cit.*, but located on Τσουνγκάνα, a peak between Gyphtokastro and Kastro Stavropodiu.

⁴³ See E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, Munich, 1950, pp. 113-14 and Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, I, Hanover, 1898, p. 338.

⁴⁴ The evidence is presented by Wilhelm, p. 74. Cf. in particular, Collitz-Bechtel, *Gr. Dial. Inschr.*, 5016, lines 8 ff., Thuc., III, 6, 1, Sophocles, fr. 24, line 6. Wilhelm somewhat reluctantly abandons the following hypothesis: after Ἐπιδαυρίων, line 15, in the statement of the decision of the arbitrators, there has been an omission of <Ἑρμιονέων δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἀμφισβήτητον> followed by οὔσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους κτλ.; τὰ πρὸς νότον would stand in apposition to the supposed area south of the line, assigned to the Hermionians in contrast to the common territory to the north. This would require the assumption of an identical omission at two points on each of the two copies of the decision.

the area lying to the south of a given line as being part of the Didymia and therefore belonging to Hermione. Syntactically this is most unconvincing.⁴⁵

The inescapable conclusion is that the line is the *northern* boundary of the common territory (whether or not that territory is regarded as part of the Didymia), from which it follows that the Bedeni river valley cannot be included and cannot therefore be the Sellas. A border line on the right bank of the Bedeni, which could include the river, is ruled out by the necessity of coming to the sea at a cape and all the possibilities lie to the left of the river. The topographic identifications must be re-examined. The identification of Vourlia as the Agrioi Limenes can stand if Kavov-Iri, not Kavov-Vourlia, is Strouthous, for then a line following the ridge to the sea will enclose Vourlia to the south *ὡς ὕδατα καταρεῖ*, while excluding the Iri plain. For the area *κατὰ Σελλᾶντα* I propose the valley known today as *Σαλάντι*, east and slightly south of Vourlia, running east-west for about three kilometers. The north side of the valley continues along the coast as the south face of Avgo without a break up to Kavov-Vourlia (Pl. 51 b, from the ridge Boskaria, looking northwest). There are fields on the bottom of the valley and grazing on the considerable slopes of Prophitis Ilias to the north. Today it is farmed by Didymiotes and reported to be good land. A *revma*, dry in June, runs down the middle; it is not necessary that the Sellas of the inscription refer to a large stream or the largest stream in the area.⁴⁶ It is cut off from the Lambagiana valley to the south by the steep and barren ridge of Boskaria. The path between the two valleys goes around by the point, Akrotiri Salanti, before skirting a wide, sandy beach. Salanti is also cut off from Didymo by a steep pass (Pl. 51 c, from Boskaria, looking northeast). One can see how the valley might have been a “no man’s land.” By nature it is more closely connected with the slopes to the west than to the near-by Didymo or Lambagiana plains.

The name itself seems to preserve the ancient name: *Σαλάντι*, with assimilation of the first to the second *α*, from **τὸ Σελλάντι*, either diminutive **τὸ Σελλάντιον* of *Σελλᾶς*, gen. *Σελλᾶντος* (Doric, from **Σελλᾶεις* cf. *Σελλήεις*) or an adjective **τὸ Σελλάντιον* [*sc. πεδίου*], cf. *χώρα κατὰ Σελλᾶντα* and Messenian *Σελλᾶντι*, *I.G.*, V, 1, 1434.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, LII, 1949, p. 117, No. 68. Robert intends to present an explanation in his forthcoming *Frontières grecques* with the help of the “persistance d’un toponyme.” If my suggestions, utilizing the probable survival of an ancient place name, prove to duplicate or anticipate Robert, I hope they may serve as topographic footnotes to his much needed and most welcome work.

⁴⁶ We are not bound to identify the principal river of the area with the one named in this particular inscription. Another arbitration inscription from Epidauros (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 78, 2nd cent. B.C.) refers to a *potamos*, and if that dispute is not with Hermione about the Bedeni it may be with Troizen over its upper reaches.

⁴⁷ Other cases of the continuity of place names in the Hermionid, despite the introduction of an Albanian population, are: modern *Δίδυμο*: ancient *Δίδυμοι*; mod. *Ἰλιόκαστρον* or *Στὰ Ἰλία*: anc. *Εἰλεοί* (Paus., II, 34, 6, a Mycenaean site, cf. Philadelphus, *Πρακτικά*, 1909, p. 183); mod. *Θερμῆσι*: anc. *ἱερὸν Δῆμητρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλήσιν Θερμασίας* (Paus., II, 34, 6). The promontory of *Βούπορθμος*, separated

With Philanoreia I would identify Lambagiana, the next valley to the south of Salanti, which, in contrast to the enclosed Salanti, leads eventually past the village of Phournoi to Hermione. Lambagiana is separated effectively on the side of the sea from the Koilada plain and bay to the south first by the hill behind the chapel of Hagios Ioannis, and then by a long ridge which descends steeply to the sea. The road mentioned by Pausanias as leading from Mases (in the Koilada plain) to Strouthous must have passed around this ridge to the east and continued around the projecting point of Akrotiri Salanti, as does a path today. At this promontory, where alone the south face of Avgos and Salanti are not clearly contained, near Philanoreia, would be a reasonable starting point for the line of the Boleoi. In the Lambagiana valley about 200 m. from the seashore are the remains of a square tower of polygonal masonry (Pl. 51 d and e, from the south and west respectively). It probably dates from the fourth or late fifth century before Christ.⁴⁸ Its purpose, as much as to protect the harbor of Mases, may have been to block the direct route from a good beach to Hermione itself and to keep a watch on the land border of the Hermionid.⁴⁹

by a narrow channel from Ἀπεροπία, mod. Δοκό (Paus., II, 34, 8-9), has been identified by means of topography alone with mod. Μουζάκι, very likely reflecting the Albanian translation, *muzát* = "bull," with Greek -άκι for Albanian -άτι. The Σελλᾶς on the Epidauros-Corinth border (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 71, line 4) seems to survive in Σελλόντας Κόλπος (cf. the map by I. Sarris [note 31, *supra*] and "Selonta Portus," Tab. I of *I.G.*, IV², 1) and the hamlet Selonta (British Army map 1: 100,000 GREECE, Sheet K8, 1943, from a Greek map dated 1941). This points rather to a form *Σελλόεις, gen. *Σελλόεντος, cf. Στρουθοῦς, Στρουθοῦντος from *Στρουθόεις, *Στρουθόειντος, and cf. the greater frequency of the suffix -όεις (-οῦς), -οέντος (-οῦντος), C. D. Buck and W. Peterson, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago, 1944, p. 460, with 240 examples, exclusive of place names, as compared to 160 for -άεις. Dr. D. J. Georgacas will discuss the survival of place-names in -όεις in the south-eastern islands of Greece in the form -οῦντα or -όντα in a forthcoming treatment of the suffix -γεντ- in Greek.

⁴⁸ It is built towards the southwest corner of a slight rise on the north side of a stream bed. About 9.5 m. square, of conglomerate blocks up to 1.5 m. in length and between 0.50 and 1.00 m. thick. Polygonal masonry of indeterminate finish; drafted corners. Entrance in the center of the north face. A row of supports for an upper story about 3 m. from the east side. On the outside, starting from the middle of the west face are traces of a wall about 2 m. thick with conglomerate blocks on both faces; on the opposite side of the tower a terrace wall utilizing ancient blocks may follow the line of another such wall. The polygonal technique, which lingered on in the fourth century in the Peloponnesos (cf. R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 69), is comparable to the polygonal wall of the ramp at Asine (Scranton, fig. 10, p. 53 and Frödin-Persson, *Asine: The Results of the Swedish Expedition, 1922-30*, Stockholm, 1938, fig. 12, p. 31). Mr. F. E. Winter, on the basis of my photographs, compares the blockhouse at Lessa between Nauplia and Lygourion and the fort at Katzingri and suggests a fourth-century date. An inaccurate description of the Lambagiana tower from the diary of Dr. Walter Müller is given by E. Mayer, *R.E.*, "Mases," pp. 2065-66.

⁴⁹ On the location of Mases at the east end of the harbor of Koilada and the view that this fort was to guard its harbor, see Mayer, *R.E.*, "Mases," pp. 2065-6, cf. Bölte, *R.E.*, "Halieis," pp. 2250 ff. Nothing between the prehistoric (Mayer, *loc. cit.*, and Heurtley quoted by Karo, *R.E.*, Suppl. VI, "Mykenische Kultur," p. 606) and Roman periods has been reported and we ourselves saw nothing certainly earlier than Roman (cf. inscription 16, *infra*). All we hear of Mases in

The line defining the common territory is in two parts: first, the Boleoi; second, the Akrai Kolourai, ending in Strouthous. (I would punctuate with a comma after *Φιλανορείας*, line 17 of the Hermione copy.) The Akrai Kolourai will be the ridge enclosing Vourlia and ending in Kavoi-Iri (Strouthous), whichever explanation of the name is accepted (see note 40, *supra*). More extended examination of the region than we were able to make might determine at what point artificial markers replaced the natural ridge line. It seems likely that the markers made the turn at the pass that separates Salanti from Didymo and continued down Boskaria to Akrotiri Salanti. This eastern end of the territory is the most uncertain and is likely to remain so, since even in antiquity man-made markers were required.⁵⁰

All the area delineated by this line can easily be understood as part of the Didymia, if that is necessary. The sea supplies most of the southern border. The identifications proposed agree with the figures given by Pausanias (as corrected by Wilhelm), 55 stades (11 km.) from Strouthous to Philanorion and the Boleoi, and 20 stades (4 km.) thence to Didymoi.⁵¹

B. MASES (Koilada)

16 (Pl. 51). A pedimental grave stele of marble, much worn, and broken on the bottom, found in a *perivole* and now in the near-by house of Goumenos I Tsirtsikos on the plain east of the harbor of Koilada in the western Hermionid, and in the vicinity of Roman Mases (see sketch map, Pl. 49, and note 49 [*supra*]).

Height (of inscribed field), 0.60 m.; width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters (shallow and irregular), 0.015-0.030 m. On the raised and roughly curved

Hellenic times is the seeming reference to its capture by the father of a man honored at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleates in Laconia, *I.G.*, V, 1, 977, line 11; this incident Hiller (in *I.G.*, V, 1) connects with the occupation of the Argolid by Nabis, *ca.* 195 B.C. (Livy, XXXII, 38 and XXXIV, 33, 35). Mases was used as a port (*ἐπίνειον*) by the Hermionians (Paus., II, 36, 2, cf. 36, 1) but Scylax (51) speaks of the coastline of *Ἀλία* (i. e., *Ἀλιείς*, at Porto Cheli across from Spetsas) as coming immediately after that of Epidauros.

⁵⁰ It is tempting to believe that the sharp cliffs above the Bedeni on the north face of Avgo and leading to the suggested Strouthous (Kavoi-Iri) were utilized in the decision as the Akrai Kolourai. This would place Philanoreia near the upland plain of Malavria and the Boleoi would follow the ridges west of Didymo and separate Didymo from Salanti. At present, however, Philanoreia seems more likely to be in the vicinity of Lambagiana.

⁵¹ It may seem strange that Pausanias first mentions the route all the way to Strouthous and then returns to Philanorion and the Boleoi. The path from Koilada and Lambagiana is continued higher up along the south side of Avgo, as well as along the coast. It can be argued that he gives first the coastal route and then works back along the ridge route to include a mention of Didymoi (which he has omitted), lying much closer to Mases. The coastal route itself was no doubt known as "the path to Strouthous." He almost certainly did not traverse the area of which he shows no first-hand knowledge—he makes no mention of Epidaurian territory on this coast—but took ship at Mases for Lerna (cf. R. Heberdey, *Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland*, Prague, 1894, pp. 49-50).

pediment (0.13 m. high) two fishes are crudely and deeply incised; they are not necessarily Christian symbols.⁵² Two shallow circles, 0.025 m. in diameter, are cut 0.09 m. below the inscription and 0.08 m. from either edge.

Πωῖνε φίλτατε
Χαῖρε

The inscription dates from the Christian era. I do not believe the name Πωῖνος is otherwise known. If the reading is correct it appears to be formed like a number of other personal names from animals, e. g., Ἀρκτῖνος, Καρακῖνος, Πορτῖνος, Μοσχίνη, etc.⁵³ The animal word in this case is the epic πῶν, "flock." If an error is supposed, cf. Πτωῖνο[ς], Acraephiae, early second century B.C., *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 93 (but that particular theophoric seems unlikely at this remove in time and space) or Πωλῖνος (Παυλείνος).

C. ZARAX (Geraka in Lakonia)⁵⁴

17 (Pl. 51). Four inscribed blocks, two intact and two fragmentary, of a crystalline and brittle gray limestone, belonging to the funeral monument of a single family. They were found on the hill dominating the entrance to the harbor, about 150 m. southwest of the acropolis and within the circuit of the city walls. Blocks I and III and portions of II are in a retaining wall of a terrace to the rear of a small, roofless Byzantine building, known locally as τὸ ἀνάκτορον τῶν βασιλῶν.⁵⁵ In the rubble wall across the east end of this building and in the adjoining terrace retaining wall were found the remaining fragments, as well as a number of small marble fragments, some of drapery, one of an ovolo in deep relief, but none having any demonstrable connection with this monument.

The upper edges of the intact blocks show wear. Local information claims they were removed from the medieval structure in 1899 at a depth of some two meters while some statuettes were found at one meter. The breaking up of blocks II and IV is recent, perhaps by the same hands that scratched the cabalistic X and its accompanying formula in the mirror of block III (Pl. 51). The order of the four blocks, originally adjoining and facing in the same direction, is certain (cf. the clamp-cuttings on the upper surfaces of block I and block III, on Pl. 51, and the anathyrosis on the interior surfaces). Although one or more uninscribed blocks may have adjoined

⁵² Cf. F. J. Dölger, Ἰχθύς, II: *Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religion und im Christentum*, Münster, 1922, pp. 387 ff.

⁵³ Cf. A. Fick-Fr. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, Göttingen, 1894, pp. 319-20.

⁵⁴ For the identification of the site, the walls, and the topography, see A. J. B. Wace and F. W. Hasluck, *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-9, pp. 167 ff. and plan, fig. 4.

⁵⁵ This structure can be seen on Wace and Hasluck's plan (note 54, *supra*), facing northwest, about halfway between the acropolis and the walls to the southwest, approximately in the center of the triangular area enclosed by the wall.

block IV to the right, all decorated and inscribed pieces among the numerous fragments can be assigned to blocks II and IV. Above the inscribed blocks was a row of moulded capping blocks (cf. the fragment in Pl. 51, f, max. preserved height, 0.50 m.). All four inscribed blocks have the same mouldings at the top of their decorated surface: a row of eggs, alternating with blank spaces instead of the usual tongues, above a bead-and-reel and a short cyma reversa. Details of the individual blocks, from left to right, follow (Pl. 51):

I. Height, 0.41 m.; width, 0.91 m.; thickness, 0.545 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. (ϵ , σ) to 0.03 m. (μ). Low relief of hunting scene below inscription: dog chasing deer, dog chasing boar, all facing right. Only this block does not have the relief decoration seen most clearly on block III.

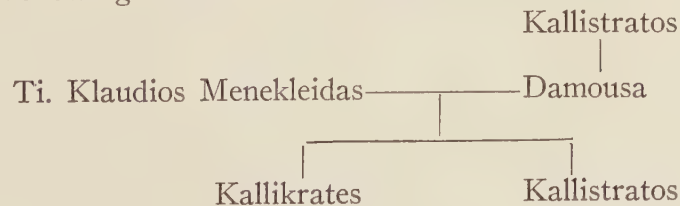
II. Four fragments of the decorated surface. Width (as joined), 0.735 m. Height of letters, 0.030 m. to 0.035 m. (μ). *Mu* with rounded belly in contrast to the deep angular *mu* of the other blocks. Below the inscription, a six-leaved rosette in a circle, flanked by the two humps of the running decoration (cf. block III). The letters and the decoration below are more deeply cut than on the other blocks.

III. Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.91 m.; thickness, 0.51 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m. (\omicron , τ) to 0.027 m. (α , λ). Below inscription, low relief of mirror in center (with modern graffito), and on either side of the handle a strigil, left, and a comb, right; on three sides of this group, in higher relief, the running design which is seen on all blocks except I.

IV. From eleven fragments, 0.86 m. of the width of the decorated surface, at the level of the upper moulding and the inscription, was reconstructed, of which 0.59 m. is inscribed surface. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Of the score of fragments showing the running design a number doubtless belong to this block, especially the three sizable fragments which share with the writing of this block the characteristics of a finer and tighter carving.

I	II
Καλλικράτης Μενεκλείδα	Τι(βέριος) [\Κλα]ύδιος \ Μενεκλείδας
III	IV
Δαμούσα Καλλιστράτου	Καλλίστρ[ατο]ς Μ[ε]νεκλε[ίδ]α

Assuming that Kallikrates was the elder son (perhaps named after his paternal grandfather), the following stemma is indicated:



To my knowledge, the name Menekleidas is not otherwise known in Lakonia.⁵⁶ I suggest the chronology of the monument was approximately as follows: first, the four blocks with the upper moulding on all four, the running design on the two center blocks (for the father and mother), and the rosette and inscription on II (the father's, differing in the size and the form of the letters from the others), all probably around the time of the father's death. At the time of the mother's death her name and her symbols (mirror, strigil, and comb) were added. Subsequently, at the time of their death, the reliefs and the names of the two sons were carved, perhaps I (Kallikrates, by the same hand as III, Damousa) and then IV (Kallistratos, whose workman imitated the relief design on the parents' blocks, II and III). Date: second to third century after Christ.

D. EPIDAUROS LIMERA

18 (Pl. 52). On the east coast of the Peloponnesos, 5 km. north of Monemvasia, on the side of the hill now known as Βούλα.⁵⁷ Southwest of the acropolis and just inside the city walls, on a small terrace facing west northwest, extending approximately 8 m. out from the side of the hill, are the remains of a building backed by the hill, evidently uncovered by local excavation. At the rear, a niche above six orthostates of worn and pitted limestone of which all but the farthest to the right are inscribed. These were topped originally by a row of three moulded blocks, 0.28 m. high, which extend as far back as 0.39 m. with an irregular rear edge and a rough-picked upper surface (Pl. 52a). The width of the niche is 2.77 m.; the depth, 0.93 m., at the height of the capping blocks, above which the original back wall, showing traces of pink stucco, remains for at least 0.72 m. Walls of rubble, pottery, and mortar, covered with well-preserved panels of pink stucco, form the right-hand corner of the room, projecting 0.14 m. in front of the inscribed blocks and running parallel to them for 0.92 m.; the right-hand wall is preserved for a distance of approximately 2.5 m. (Pl. 52 b). To the left of the niche a line of rubble running forward may mark the course of the corresponding left-hand wall.

The orthostates below the moulding are visible for a height of 0.50 m.; their width, from left to right, is *a*, 0.54 m.; *b*, 0.48 m.; *c*, 0.43 m.; *d*, 0.56 m.; *e*, 0.30 m.; *f*, 0.36 m. The poor quality of the stone was in evidence at the time of engraving: in line 3 on block *d* a space of 0.05 m. was left between the *a* and the π of $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ because of a flaw in the stone (see Pl. 52 c), and for the same reason there is an exceptionally wide space before that word. There are traces of a flaw in the stone or a stone-cutter's error after the $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ of line 1 and at the beginning of line 2.

⁵⁶ On the popularity of the name Tiberius Claudius in Lakonia in the first and second centuries after Christ, see H. Box, *J.R.S.*, XXI, 1931, pp. 202-205.

⁵⁷ For a plan of the site and a discussion of the remains, mostly walls, see Wace and Hasluck, *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, pp. 179 ff.

Height of letters, 0.04 m. Distance between lines, 0.02 m. The letters are shallow and somewhat irregularly disposed. The forms of the *xi* and *omega* and the lunate *epsilon* and *sigma* point to the second century after Christ, probably the latter years in view of the provincial character of the town.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>
ἀ πόλις	Νεῖκ[ία]ν Ν[ε]ικία	καὶ Ἀλέξανδ	ρον Ὀνησίμ[ο]ν	τοὺς
π[ο]λείτας	ἀρ[ετᾶς χάρι]ν	καὶ τᾶς εἰς [α]ῦ	τὰν εὐνοίας· τὸ	ἀνάλωμα
τ[οῦ] ναοῦ	[καὶ τῶν ἀνδρ]ιάν	τω<ν> ἐκ τῶν	ιδίων δαπαν	ήσαντος
			Ἀλεξάνδρου	

Line 3: [ἀνδρ]ιάντω<ν>. There is space (0.056 m.) for the final *ν* before the ἐκ, but no indication that it was ever cut. There is no flaw in the stone at this point. If the restoration is correct, ἀνδριάντες following ναός might refer to statues of gods, but this use is rare (cf. Collitz-Bechtel, *Gr. Dial. Inschr.*, 5421, Delos) and ἀνδριάς regularly refers to the statue of the man honored in Lakonian honorific inscriptions;⁵⁸ here the statues were probably in the niche above the inscription.

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⁵⁸ Cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 547, line 6, Sparta; 1167, line 10, 1170, line 8, and 1177, line 9, all from Gytheion.

A MAGICAL INSCRIPTION FROM PISIDIAN ANTIOCH

(PLATE 52)

IN August 1924 when I was director of the excavations at Antioch over-against-Pisidia, I dug up, three feet above the original pavement in the south portion of the colonnade behind the Augustus temple,¹ part of a bronze tube with a piece of silver foil rolled up within it.² The tube was 0.05 m. long and 0.03 m. long as preserved, 0.033 m. wide at the top and 0.025 m. wide at the bottom. The tablet when unrolled was 0.093 m. long. It is worn away on the right side, but the other sides are intact. As there is suitable space (0.02 m.) at the bottom for further letters, and as the top edge is original, we probably have the original thirteen lines of the whole inscription (Pl. 52). The tablet is now in the Museum of Ankara. The text given here is based upon my own copy, photographs, and suggestions from H. I. Bell of the British Museum and Professor Herbert C. Youtie of the University of Michigan, to whom I express deep gratitude.

The cursive inscription certainly dates from the third century.³ It belongs in the category of many such magical texts as I cite in *Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (see note 2). Professor Calder thought that the inscription was Christian and Mr. Bell wrote "at any rate the inscription is Christian (nominally at least), probably influenced by gnosticism and almost certainly an amulet." Professor Youtie, however, wrote that so far as he could see there is nothing in the text to mark it as Christian. It seems to me that the inscription is at least partly Christian. Its syncretistic author was leaving nothing to chance.

1. πρὸς πν
2. εὖμα θα-
3. θωαθφο.
4. ἀναχώρη-
5. σον ἀποβὰ
6. ς εἰς τοῦπὶ
7. δεξιᾷ ἁγιοι
8. τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ
9. τὸ ἔμα (= αἶμα) τὸ
10. Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ τοῦ[ς]

¹ Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1926, pp. 5-69, figs. 2, 3.

² Similar to the tube with a comparable inscription inside published in an article, "A Magical Text from Beroea in Macedonia," *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, 1938, pp. 245-253, plate 1 B.

³ Cf. Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 193.

11. ἀνγέλοι-
12. σ ἄτης (?) καὶ
13. ἰκλησία

Lines 1-3: ἵνευμα has been suggested in line 1 and in that case the charm would be to produce evacuation, i. e. to relieve chronic constipation by forcing to one side the demon who obstructs the passage. πνευμαθα = πνεύματα also seems unlikely. Such inscriptions are frequent, but I think this is a letter (πρός) to a single spirit or demon whose magical secret-name is θαθαωθφρο.⁴ I read πνεῦμα, the ΠΝ as a monogram or ligature. The name of the demon is new, but the repetition or metathesis of the same or similar sounds is typical of such magical secret-names. In Audollent's *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 15, line 36 we have θαθασερβαν; in no. 249 a, line 2 we have δαιμόνιον πνεῦμα; in no. 271 δαιμόνιον πνεῦμα τὸ ἐνθάδε κείμενον τὸ ὀνόματι τὸ ἅγιο.⁵ In *ibid.*, no. 269 a, line 18 θαθ is repeated several times. In the Rand volume (see note 2), p. 245, we have Barbathiaoth. In Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 138, line 12 we have θωθ and αωθ; p. 139, line 1 αωθ, ωθ; in Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, p. 170 θωθ and αωθ. The syllable *ath* is a reversal of *tha*, such reversals being common in magical papyri and inscriptions. Though Thathoathphro is not in the circle of my acquaintance, I feel that this is the name of a demon to whom the spell is addressed against some evil spirit, but the kind of protection sought is not indicated. To judge from the last lines, this amulet is not a protection against all evil spirits but some particular one.

Lines 4-7: ἀναχώρησον ἀπό seems certain; even the outline of the unclear *eta* can be traced. But the next letters are difficult. I cannot read ἐμοῦ or μοῦ. οἶκον seems possible and also ἱεροῦ, "depart from our sacred house"; but further study enabled me to read ἀποβα|ς εἰς τὸν πῖ δεξιᾷ, "depart, going off to the right,"⁶ though the three strokes, more or less horizontal, needed to complete *sigma* and *tau* in εἰς τὸν πῖ (= τὸ ἐπὶ) are absent. One is reminded of Audollent, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-486 where are listed requests to gods in the imperative mood. ἔλθετε (no. 38, line 14) might be analogous to ἀποχώρησον and in no. 79, line 3 occurs ἀνάβηθι as a parallel to ἀναβάς. In Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Syria*, p. 18, we have Ἀναχώρι, καλέ.

Lines 7-10: What follows after δεξιᾷ Thathoathphro alone knows for certain, but the protection of God is clearly invoked; perhaps we have only τοῦ repeated in line 8 by dittography. But I read Ἄγιοι τοῦ θεοῦ. If it is not a magic character in line

⁴ For phylacteries against some precise thing introduced by πρὸς cf. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, II, pp. 8 ff.

⁵ For this somewhat similar name cf. Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 469 (Index) and no. 242, lines 6-7. Cf. also the name Sabaoth and Φρη and Θωθ in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, p. 86.

⁶ Cf. Miss Braunlich, *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, p. 245, on "right" and "left."

7 between *alpha* and *omicron*, the letters are *αγι. θ(εο)ῦ καὶ τὸ ξμα (= αἷμα) τὸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ*⁷ are certain (God and the blood of Christ).

Lines 10-13: Here one would expect something like *καὶ <ῆ> χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* or else the verb *χαρίζοιτο*, but the reading seems to be *τοῖς ἀνγέλοις* in the dative with an irregular construction and no word of appeal.⁸ Perhaps this is just a parenthetic insertion in the midst of an unfortunate confusion of instructions. But such appeals to the angels are common, though generally preceded by the word *κύριοι* as in the magical inscription which I published in the Rand volume (*op. cit.*, pp. 246, 251) with parallels to *κύριοι Ἄγγελοι* with the same spelling as in the Antioch tablet.⁹

Lines 12-13: I am unable to read line 12 with certainty. After *sigma* the letters seem to be *οπ*, but such readings as *ὀπτοῖς* (visible), *ὀτρηροῖς*, *σωτηρίοις* do not fit. Possibly we could read *ἀπίοις κ(αῖ)* if the second letter is *alpha*, not *omicron*, or even *Ἄπις* or *Ἄτης*. For *ἀγγέλοις ἄτης* compare Sophocles, *Antigone*, line 276, *ἄγγελον κακῶν*.

Line 13: I read clearly *ικλησια*, though *τησικκλησῖα* would be possible. With *-κληστιά* one could compare *συνκλειστιά* in the invocation in *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, p. 92, line 591. Professor Youtie called my attention to the fact that the meaning that can be assigned to the second half of the compound, of which I cannot read the first part, lends support to the interpretation based on *ἵνευμα*, suggested above. But I feel sure that the last word is meant to be *ἐκκλησία*, even if it is impossible to read *ἡ ἁγία* or *καθολική* or any other like word before it. The confusion of constructions and the mixture of cases, vocative with the nominative and dative, are perhaps part of the magic or due to ignorance; such as is shown by the use of *ικλησια* for *ἐκκλησία*. In any case there is a reference to the Christian church and we have already an anticipation of mediaeval magic which often used bad Latin or Greek and mixed pagan with Christian doctrine.

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⁷ Xv recalls no. 32(22) in the list of Egyptian decans as given by Bouché-Leclercq. Cf. Youtie on *ωοσ[ε]σρω* in *Tablets from Beth-Shan*, tablet 1, line 7. According to A. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 167, Xv is the Greek transcription of a decan in Aquarius. For the repetition of the article *τό* cf. *Pap. Gr. Mag.* II, pp. 77-78. Here it is merely for *X(ριστο)ῦ*.

⁸ *ελ* is a correction from *γ*. *ο* seems to lack its upper curve.

⁹ On *ἄγγελοι* as pagan messengers of the lower world (like *Dis Manibus*) cf. D. M. Robinson *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 251; Guarducci, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, XV, 1939, pp. 79-89; XVI, 1940, p. 119; *Pap. Mag. London*, 46.121; Cormack, "A Tabella Defixionis in the Museum of the University of Reading," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIV, 1951, p. 31. To his many references add M. Schwabe, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélogie d'après les mss. hébreux de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 1897.

NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF THE ATTIC DEME KOPROS

(PLATE 52)

IN THE course of the Greek Archaeological Society's excavation of the bridge which carried the Sacred Way across the Eleusinian Kephissos about a kilometer east of Eleusis, an inscription was found built into the west wall of a mediaeval tower which had been constructed on top of the bridge.¹ The inscription is on a rectangular block of Pentelic marble 0.69 m. high, 0.50 m. wide and 0.43 m. thick, which is essentially intact. There are no mouldings. The top and the four sides are smoothly dressed; the bottom is roughly picked. The inscription occupies the upper part of one of the broader faces of the block and contains the names of six persons, five men and a woman. The inscribed face is somewhat damaged, particularly around the edges, so that all the names cannot be read with certainty.

The text is as follows: (Height of letters av. 0.025 m.)

III or early II century B.C.

[Θράσιπ]πος Φιλίνου [Κόπ]ρε[ιος]
[Φι]λῖνος Θρασίππου Κόπρειο[s]
[. .]πείθης Θρασίππου Κόπρειο[s]
[Να]υσικράτης Εὐθυνόμου
5 [Κ ό] π ρ ε ι ο ς
[²⁻³] ννις Θρασίππου Κ[οπ]ρείου
[Θο]ύδιππος Εὐξι [-³⁻⁴-]
Π α ι [ο] ν ί δ η [ς]

Lines 1 and 2. The names are restored by analogy with other names on the stone. Thrasippos in line 1 seems quite probable. Philinos in line 2 is well supported by the remains of the letters and may be considered virtually certain.

Line 3. If the *pi* is correctly read, the name might be [Εὐ]πείθης, but only part of the horizontal bar is preserved.

Line 4. A Nausikrates Melampodorou Kopreios is known from a columnar grave monument of the III/II century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 6539).

¹ On the bridge, see John Travlos, *Πρακτικά*, 1950, pp. 122-127. Mr. Travlos, who conducted the excavation on behalf of the Archaeological Society, has invited me to publish the inscription, which forms the basis of this article. The inscription remains where it was found, but may later be transferred to the Eleusis Museum.

Line 6. Some name such as [Ξε]ννίς might be restored.

Line 7. Εὐξί[ππου], Εὐξί[θέου], or the like.

The stone is a grave monument from a family burial plot and may be dated in the third or early second century B.C. on the basis of the letter forms. It was probably originally set up somewhere in the immediate neighborhood, for it is a large block; most of the other remaining blocks of the tower were taken from the bridge itself, which shows that the builders did not go far afield for material.

It is noteworthy that five of the six persons are from the deme Kopros. This was a small deme of the Hippothontid tribe which is said by the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Knights*, 899, to have been an island. The exact location of the deme is not known, but it may be placed in the Eleusis area, which is the coastal riding of Hippothontis. Honigmann (*R.E.*, s.v. Kopros, 1) discusses the various suggestions that have been made as to its location and concludes that it is to be sought on the coast of the Thriasian plain, supposing that it occupied a sort of island that had been formed in antiquity by the arms of the Kephissos. This view is supported, one might almost say confirmed, by the present inscription which must once have stood somewhere close by marking the graves of Thrasippos of Kopros, a local worthy, and his family.

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INSCRIPTIONS FROM ATHENS

(PLATE 53)

1. Honorary decree of the tribe Pandionis. (Plate 53)

Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble. Some of left edge preserved, otherwise broken. Across the top, part of a horizontal moulding is preserved, above which was probably a pediment.

Found on the north slope of the Acropolis in the wall of a modern house. Now in the Epigraphical Museum (E. M. 13,140).

P. H. 0.235 m. P. W. 0.15 m. Th. of stele 0.085 m. L. H. 0.006 m.

The fragment belongs with, but does not quite join, E. M. 7690 on which is the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 1139. Since, even with the new fragment, we do not have the whole inscription, we repeat the text to show the parts still missing.

Shortly after 403/2 B.C.

Θ [ε ο ί]
ἔδοξεν τῇ Π[ανδ]ιονίδι φυλῇ[ι· Καλλικρά]
της εἶπεν· ἐπ[αιν]έσαι Νικίαν [Ἐπιγένος °]
Κυδαθηναί[α ἀν]δραγαθίας ἔν[εκα τῆς εἰς]
5 τὴν φυλὴν[, ὅτι ε]ῖς καὶ προθύμω[ς ἐχορήγησ]
εν τοῖς π[αισὶ κ]αὶ ἐνίκα Διονύ[σια, καὶ Θα]
ργήλια ἀ[νδρά]σι, [κ]αὶ στεφανώσ[αι αὐτόν. ἀ]
ναγράψ[αι δὲ τ]ὸ ψ[ή]φισμα τόδε ἐ[ν στήλῃ λ]
ιθίνῃ[ι τοῦς] ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λ[η]τ[ά]ς.

The inscription was successfully restored by the earlier editors. It is stoichedon with 32 letters to a line, except for line 3 (formerly line 2) which seems to have had only 31. The vacant letter space in this line, unsuspected by the earlier editors, caused them to place the initial *kappa* of the demotic at the end of line 3 and to restore the ending of the demotic in lengthened form. We see now, however, that the *kappa* actually comes at the beginning of line 4 and that the contracted form of the demotic must have been used as in the preceding Corpus inscription (No. 1138) where the same name occurs. This leaves us with a vacant space at the end of line 3 unless we wish to restore the patronymic Ἐπιγένους instead of Ἐπιγένος. This, however, would be contrary to what appears in the previous inscription where we read Ἐπιγένος and contrary to the general usage of the period. We prefer therefore to assume a vacant space.

2. Heading of an ephebic catalogue. (Plate 53)

Fragment from near the top of the right side of a large stele of Pentelic marble decorated above with the incised outline of a pediment. Right side smooth. Back rough. Broken into two pieces which join each other.

Found on the north slope of the Acropolis in the wall of a modern house. Now in the Epigraphical Museum (E. M. 13,146).

P. H. 0.46 m. P. W. 0.18 m. Th. 0.10 m. L. H. 0.015-0.02 m.

The stele must originally have been set up near the place where in modern times the church of St. Demetrios Katiphoris stood and where many other inscriptions mentioning the Diogeneion (line 4) have been found. (W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 379). A search in the epigraphical museum failed to reveal other fragments of this stele.

A.D. 220-240.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]

[ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων — Τελεσ]φόρος
 [————— ἀνέγραψ]εν τοὺς
 [τε συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Διογ]ένειον
 5 [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ————— ἐω]ς,
 [παιδοτρίβης ————— Παλ]ληνεὺς, ἔτος E
 [ὀπλομάχος διὰ βίου (?) Αὐρήλιος] Διονύσιος Ἀχαρν(εὺς),
 [Γραμματεὺς Σύντροφος Εὐκαρπί]δου ἐκ Κοίλης,
 [Προστάτης Τι.Κλ. Λεωσθένης Μελι]τεὺς,
 [ἄρχων ἐφήβων —————]

Line 7: [ὀπλομάχος διὰ βίου (?) Αὐρήλιος] Διονύσιος Ἀχαρν(εὺς) ἔτος E
 This man is known from other inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 2235, line 6 (A.D. 234/5); 2237, line 20 (ca. A.D. 232).

Line 8: [γραμματεὺς Σύντροφος Εὐκαρπί]δου ἐκ Κοίλης.
 This man is known from the inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 2221, line 72 (A.D. 219/20); 2223, line 15 (A.D. 220/21); 2235, line 8 (A.D. 234/35); 2239, line 8 (A.D. 239/40); 2242, line 10 (A.D. 238/39).

Line 9: [προστάτης Τι.Κλ. Λεωσθένης Μελι]τεὺς.
 Also mentioned in the inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 2208, line 28 (A.D. 212/13); 2223, line 13 (A.D. 220/21); 2235, line 7 (A.D. 234/35); 2239, lines 6-7 (A.D. 239/40); 2242, lines 7-8 (A.D. 238/9).

The inscription is to be dated between the years A.D. 220 and 240. The names of the officials, the wording, and especially the phrase [ἀνέγραψ]εν τοὺς [τε συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Διογ]ένειον leave no doubt about this. It is unfortunate that in the two other inscriptions in which the name of the *hoplomachos* Dionysios appears the exact

year of his office is not recorded as it is on our stone; this would have permitted a closer relative dating of the inscriptions.

Line 4: This line might also be restored: | [τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἐφηβεύσαντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Διογ]ένειον. But this restoration requires more space and creates difficulties in the restoration of lines 2 and 7.

3. Ephebic catalogue. (Plate 53)

Fragment from the shaft of a herm of Pentelic marble. Part of smooth left side and rough picked back preserved. Otherwise broken.

Found in the wall of a modern house at the east edge of the excavated area where the church of St. Demetrios Katiphoris once stood. (W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Plan I, G 5). The inscription which had been visible in the wall of the house for many years was first drawn to our attention by Mr. G. A. Stamires. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E. M. 13,151).

P. H. 0.09 m. P. W. 0.215 m. Th. 0.255 m. L. H. average 0.005 m.

III cent. after Christ.

 [— —^{ca. 5} — —] ιος Εὐχαρίστου
 Δαμᾶς) Δαμᾶς
 Καλανδίων Ἡρακλείδου
 Αὐρ Ἀγαθόπους Εἰλεισοῦ
 5 Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἰλαρίωνος
 Ἀγαθάνγγελος
 Εὐσέβης Τ

Line 2: The second Δαμᾶς appears to have been added later for the lettering is shallower.

Line 7: The patronymic began either with *tan* or *pi*.

4. Lintel block of a large grave monument.

Moulding at top, two fasciae below.

Re-used as a door jamb at the right side of the door of the church of St. Andrew, Leukosia Street, Kato Patissia, Athens.¹

The inscription is on the two fasciae. It has been deliberately defaced and is almost illegible. Our reading has been made from a squeeze.

¹ A. Orlandos in *Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων* (edited by K. Kourouniotes and G. A. Soteriou), p. 133, where the church is wrongly stated to be on Larnaka Street.

P. W. *ca.* 1.20 m. H. of upper fascia 0.09 m. L. H. av. 0.035 m. (all measurements made on squeeze).

II cent. after Christ.

Μενεκρατὶς Δρομοκλέους ἐκ Κοίλης θυγ[άτηρ]
Σω[κρά]τους τοῦ [Ἀ]ριστομέ[νους demoticum γυνή]

Line 2: The reading is most uncertain.

Professor Meritt has suggested to us that Menekratis may be a sister of Moiragenes, son of Dromokles, of Koile whose portrait herm is now in the Agora Museum.² He further suggests that Pythagore (*I.G.*, II², 6495) may be a daughter of Moiragenes. Menekrates of Koile (*I.G.*, II², 6491) might also be a member of the family, in view of the similarity of his name to that of Menekratis.

Messrs. Al. Oikonomides and Stephanos Koumanoudes, students at the University of Athens, have drawn our attention to a columnar grave monument which now lies near the Tower of the Winds and which we mention here through the courtesy of Mr. Meliades, Ephor of the Acropolis. On it appears the name of Dromokles, son of Moiragenes, of Koile, who should be either the father of the Moiragenes of the herm, or a son.

5. Large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble.

Found in Petralona, west of the Pnyx (Judeich², Plan I, B 6), in front of the small church of St. Andrew, which stands a few blocks south of the large church of the Three Hierarchs. Partly uncovered in December 1940 when a trench for an air raid shelter was being dug. Subsequently buried again.

Diam. at top 0.44 m. L. H. 0.04 m.

I-II cent. after Christ.

Δυσίμαχος
Ἡρακλεοδώρου
Μαραθώνιος

Below the name a small sunken panel (H. *ca.* 0.25 m. W. 0.13 m.) with a loutrophoros in low relief.

6. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble. Intact save minor chips.

Found in the valley southwest of the Pnyx.

² *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 16-17; Evelyn B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton, 1953, no. 25, pp. 35-37, pl. 17. The text of the inscription is given by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, p. 3, note 5 (the article in line 3 should be deleted).

H. 1.00 m. Diam. at top 0.335 m. L. H. 0.03-0.04 m.

Ἀρετῇ
Δημητρίου
Μιλησίου

Shallow, rather careless letters of the first century B.C. to first century after Christ.

7. Upper part of a grave stele crowned with a palmette.

Broken below, but enough of the surface is preserved at the right to show that no demotic was inscribed.

Found in 1952 near the church of St. John at Lambrika on the Koropi-Vari road in the course of road repairs.

P. H. 0.47 m. W. 0.29 m.

Late IV cent. B.C.

Ἰέρων
Ἰερωνύμου

Lambrika, where the stele was found, has long been correctly identified as the site of the deme of Lamptrai (*R.E.*, *s.v.*). Hieron and Hieronymos were probably therefore demesmen of Lamptrai. In that case Hieron is probably identical with *I.G.*, II², 3105, line 24 (= *P.A.*, 7539) and Hieronymos with *I.G.*, II², 1622, line 587 (= *P.A.*, 7566).

8. *I.G.*, II², 5787.

This inscription was copied by Kirchner and Dow in 1935 and published in the *Corpus* as a grave monument. It is not a grave stone, however, but part of a large monument previously reported and published as *I.G.*, II², 2962, line 18.

9. *I.G.*, II², 13243 (III 3831)

This inscription is published in the *Corpus* from a copy by Lebas. Lebas, however, does not say where he saw it, and the editors of the *Corpus* evidently do not know its location. It is a graffito carved on the east face of the east anta of the Thrasyllus monument above the theatre of Dionysos. It should therefore be added to the map of the inscriptions on the south slope of the Acropolis, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 71.

MARKELLOS TH. MITSOS
EUGENE VANDERPOOL

ATHENS, GREECE

ISTHμία EXCAVATIONS, 1952

(PLATES 54-62)

OF THE four Panhellenic shrines of Greece celebrated in the Odes of Pindar only the Isthmian has not hitherto been subjected to systematic exploration on an adequate scale. The topographical studies by the early travelers and the exploratory excavations in more recent times have resulted in the identification of the site of the Isthmian Games (Pl. 54 a) but have left many of the topographical problems unsolved. The Stadium and the Theater, which can readily be recognized from extant remains above the ground, give the first clue to the topography; the location of the other buildings has remained in dispute.

The most conspicuous of the ancient landmarks are the ruins of the Isthmian wall (Pl. 54 b) which can be traced for most of its length across the Isthmos from the Corinthian Gulf to the Saronic. An irregular enclosure of some 350,000 square meters extending southward from this wall on the Peloponnesian side close to the Theater and the Stadium, was until twenty years ago known as the Isthmian Sanctuary, within which the two temples of Poseidon and Palaimon were thought to have been located. In 1883 Paul Monceaux investigated this enclosure and cleared the northeastern Gate.¹ Among the material built into the wall he found column drums and other architectural members of two buildings, one Doric and the other Ionic, the former of which he identified as the temple of Poseidon, the other as that of Palaimon. He concluded that the foundations of the Doric temple were to be sought beneath the church of St. John the Forerunner; the Ionic structure he placed farther south on the authority of Pausanias² who says that the temple of Palaimon was on the left side within the enclosure. The excellent masonry of the enclosure itself (cf. Pl. 56 a) Monceaux ascribed to the age of Augustus; others have not hesitated to date it in classical Greek times.

Monceaux's conclusions remained for half a century the prevailing view. Frazer,³ Fowler,⁴ O'Neil,⁵ and others repeated the information, each adding certain observations of his own. The first to cast doubt on the correctness of this view was Fimmen, whose article on the Isthmos appeared in the Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real Encyclopaedic*.⁶ A fresh examination of the Isthmian topography was made in 1933 by R. J. H. Jenkins and H. Megaw, and the results of their studies were promptly published

¹ *Gazette archéologique*, 1884, pp. 373 ff.

² Book II, ii, 1.

³ *Pausanias Description of Greece, Commentary*, vol. III, pp. 9 ff.

⁴ *Corinth*, I, pp. 59 ff.

⁵ *Ancient Corinth*, p. 15.

⁶ *R.E.*, s.v. Isthmos.

in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.⁷ The most important result of this investigation was the corroboration of Fimmen's conjecture that the enclosure which the earlier scholars took to be the Sacred Precinct of Poseidon was nothing else than a Byzantine Fortress. Several pits dug within the enclosure failed to reveal any early remains, and Jenkins concluded that the first occupation of the area for buildings of any size was in the first century of our era. Megaw's study of the Isthmian wall and the enclosure showed clearly that both are of the same date, and the technique of the masonry points unmistakably to the reign of Justinian as the period of their construction.

Jenkins dug several trial trenches and pits in three areas outside the Fortress. In the first two he found no traces of pre-Roman occupation; but in the third, on the banks of a ravine, more than half a kilometer to the west of the Fortress, he discovered some pottery and roof tiles and an elaborate system of reservoirs and channels of classical Greek times, and from these discoveries he concluded that the Sanctuary had been located here. Unfortunately, earthquakes and erosion have so altered the configuration of the land that the chances of finding the foundations of a large temple in this region seemed very distant.

The investigations of the two English archaeologists were of the utmost importance in correcting several errors⁸ of earlier topographical studies and in establishing the date and purpose of the Justinian Fortress. Although they did not achieve their main objective, which was to discover the site of the Isthmian Sanctuary, they narrowed down the possibilities considerably and prepared the way for further exploration.

When the University of Chicago decided to undertake the excavation of a classical site, the Corinthian Isthmos seemed a logical choice. Its nearness to Ancient Corinth, where the facilities of the Archaeological Museum and of the Excavation houses of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens would be available, was an important factor in the selection of the site; but it goes without saying that the compelling reason was the prospect of important archaeological discoveries. Whatever vicissitudes had befallen the Sanctuary, it did not seem possible that the place in which one of the most popular of the ancient Greek festivals was celebrated could have vanished so completely as to leave no worthwhile traces of its existence. The decision to begin an excavation at the Isthmia was reached in Chicago, somewhat rashly, no doubt, before there was an opportunity of examining the site afresh. In view of this

⁷ Vol. XXXII, 1932-1933, pp. 68-69. A brief notice of the first season's work appeared in *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 244.

⁸ A typical example of the perpetuation of errors is the statement, first made by Monceaux, that the Doric columns built into the fortress of Justinian had only sixteen flutes. This misinformation, repeated by subsequent writers before the appearance of Jenkins' and Megaw's article in 1933, has naturally led to erroneous speculation about the date of the temple.

fact, the first season was to be devoted to a preliminary exploration for the purpose of determining, if possible, the location of the sanctuary and of assessing the prospects for a more extensive excavation of the whole site.⁹

Two important discoveries were made during the preliminary survey prior to the beginning of the excavation. The inscription (see page 192) in honor of Themison was discovered at the Isthmian wall, from which it had been removed and left on the spot where it was found. On the ridge overlooking the village (seen in Pl. 54 a), which affords an unobstructed view of the eastern half of the Isthmos (Pl. 55 a), some trenches had been dug during World War II, and among the weeds growing over the mounds of earth from the trenches the gold earring described later in this article was discovered. This cursory examination of the region further led to the conviction that the main temple of the Isthmia was located not very far from the Fortress of Justinian, probably on higher ground, from which the column drums and other building blocks could readily have been rolled down before they were built into the wall. Among the debris of the demolished Fortress we counted more than a score of Doric column drums, each sliced into three pieces to render it more suitable for wall blocks (one seen in Pl. 56 a, lower right).

⁹ The excavation, which was under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, lasted from April 24 to May 17. The writer was ably assisted by Dr. Chrysoula Kardara, who at the end of the campaign made inventories and preliminary studies of the movable finds brought to the Corinth Museum. The drawings for Figure 1 and Plates 61 and 62 were made by George V. Peschke, the photographs by the writer. The services of the experienced foreman Evangelos Lekkas were made available by the American School of Classical Studies and all the men employed were veteran diggers from ancient Corinth. Cleaning and mending of the antiquities were done by George Kachros, the first Guard of the Museum, assisted by the second Guard, Evangelos Papapsomas. A most valuable service was rendered by the Corinth Canal Company, whose Director Constantinos Skepheris kindly placed at our disposal a hoist with operators for raising the colossal marble figure and a truck to transport it to the Corinth Museum.

The funds for the excavations were provided through the Greek Cultural Foundation for the University of Chicago, from donations by members of the Greek-American Community in Chicago. At the close of the excavation we had the pleasure of seeing several Chicagoans who have taken an active part in the work of the Foundation: Mr. and Mrs. John L. Manta, Professor Phillip Constantinides, Mr. and Mrs. Takis Christopoulos, Mrs. Theodore Askounis. To my colleague, Professor Peter H. von Blankenhagen, who spent several days in Corinth during the campaign, I am indebted for valuable suggestions. The American School of Classical Studies contributed greatly to the success of the initial campaign by making all its facilities available without cost. For these advantages the expedition is deeply indebted to the chairman of the Managing Committee, Professor Charles H. Morgan, and to the Director of the School, John L. Caskey. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge the cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service, represented by the Ephor of Antiquities of the Corinthia, Mr. Ioannis Papademetriou. I desire further to express to the University of Chicago and to the Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton, to Professor Napier Wilt, Dean of the Division of Humanities, and to the Chairman of the Department of Greek, Professor Gertrude E. Smith, my appreciation of the privilege of obtaining leave from my teaching duties for the purpose of directing the first classical excavation undertaken in Greece by the University of Chicago.

The area which seemed most promising as the site of the temple is a small plateau, some four hundred meters to the west of the Fortress. The trenches dug there by Jenkins in 1933 had failed to reveal anything earlier than Roman, but we found many fragments of Greek roof tiles on the surface, and one shapeless poros block with a square depression at one end looked like the inner core from one of the Doric columns prepared for use in the Justinian Fortress. In this area we decided to run our first trench (Pl. 55 b), originally 26 m. long, and later extended to a length of 46 m. Simultaneously two small areas were investigated, one on either side of the west wall of the Justinian Fortress, at a point where pieces of drums from the Doric columns were particularly numerous (Pls. 55 c and 56 a). The pieces found in these areas were so similar to those discovered in the long trench on the plateau that before the end of the first day it seemed likely that the spot we had selected was the site of the temple. In the course of the next two days the long trench showed the unmistakable lines of a Doric temple structure. It cut diagonally across the width of the building, exposing the rock cuttings for all the east-west foundations, except the foundations for the south colonnade, where Roman floors and walls concealed the traces of the Greek building.

After it had become evident that the Doric temple was located in this area all the workmen were transferred to the temple site, where other trenches were laid out in an effort to reveal the whole plan of the building. Subsequently a small area was cleared close to the north temenos wall, where numerous architectural fragments and building terracottas were found in a burned layer containing many fragments of bronze bowls (cf. Pl. 60 e), completely crumpled and corroded and many of them melted into unrecognizable lumps of metal. This may be the edge of a *favissa* from one of several fires that caused damage to the temple of Poseidon.

THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

The temple area consists of an artificially leveled quadrangle, measuring approximately 116 m. from east to west and 78 m. from north to south. On the north and east sides are the remains of retaining walls built largely out of irregular stones laid in lime mortar. What exists today is probably only the foundation, and it is possible that more pretentious masonry was used for the wall itself. In the southwest corner of the quadrangle the rock has been cut away to a depth of over one meter, and a rock-cut bedding along the west end indicates that a temenos wall once existed at that point. The line of the bedding is continued toward the north by a roughly constructed wall, through which there seems to have been an entrance into the sanctuary from the west. Along the edge of the gully, a hundred feet beyond this gateway, there is a low retaining wall and traces of a road that probably led from the Isthmian Sanctuary to Ancient Corinth. The northwest corner of the temenos extends over

a ravine made by a streamlet flowing toward the northeast from the long hill, which is known to the population of the village merely as "Rache," the Ridge (Pl. 54 a). A vaulted passage constructed as an outlet for the water of this gully is still preserved to a length of 14 m. This tunnel, obviously of Roman construction, has frequently been mistaken for an approach to the crypt beneath Palaimon's temple, which Pausanias describes. It is tempting to connect both the tunnel and the temenos wall with the peribolos built by P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, who held the title of high priest (*archiereus*) for life.¹⁰

Within this quadrangle, almost in the exact center, stood the temple of Poseidon. The foundation, oriented very nearly according to the cardinal points of the compass, covers an area of 56.20 x 25.70 m., as measured on the trenches sunk into the rock of the plateau. The trench for the outer colonnade varies in width between 2.78 and 3.50 m., but the actual foundations were somewhat less wide. If we allow for a footing trench of *ca.* 0.20 m. on either side, the net width of the foundation at the narrowest point of the trench on the north flank would be only 2.38 m., which is rather small for a peristyle whose columns measured at least 1.86 m. in diameter (Pl. 62 b). If the foundation filled the entire trench at this point the width would be sufficient for a stylobate, 1.90 m. wide and two steps below the stylobate, each with a tread of *ca.* 0.40 m.

The trenches for the cella wall vary in width between 1.63 m. and 1.78 m. Where the foundations are preserved in the lower courses (Pl. 56 b) there is a footing trench on either side, *ca.* 0.20 m. wide. At the northeast anta, where two courses of the foundation are preserved (Pl. 56 c), the lowest course has a width of 1.60 m., and 19 m. farther west, where four blocks of the foundations for the north cella wall remain *in situ*, the width varies between 1.56 m. and 1.58 m. The blocks are carefully fitted and finished on the top with a straight chisel, the marks of which cross the joints in such a way as to show clearly that the tooling was done after the blocks had been put in place (Pl. 56 d). The stones in the foundations of the northeast anta are tied together with large double-T clamps, *ca.* 0.32 m. long, and in one of the cuttings some of the lead still remains at the bottom. Two blocks preserved in place in the foundation of the southwest anta (Pl. 59 c) have cuttings for similar clamps; elsewhere the exposed portions of the foundations have no clamp cuttings. Four blocks preserved *in situ* from the foundation for the north inner colonnade have been exposed. The foundation trench is here shallower, and for the most part it is little more than a leveling of the top of the rock. The blocks themselves differ considerably from those in the foundations for the cella wall. The tooling at the top and the anathyrosis are much the same in both cases, but all the stones in the foundations for the colonnade have drafted corners and a drafted edge at the bottom (Pl.

¹⁰ For his benefactions at the Isthmian Sanctuary see *I.G.*, IV, 203; Allen B. West, *Corinth*, VIII, Part II, *Latin Inscriptions*, No. 70; Oscar Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 181-190.

57 a). Three of the blocks are drafted only at one end, two at the north end, the middle block at the south end. The fourth block, which has deep grooves in the top made by despoilers for the purpose of splitting it into four quarters prior to removal, is similarly drafted at the corners both at the north and the south ends. There are no traces of clamps in this wall.

Only a small part of the temple area has been excavated, and in most of the trenches dug this season the foundations are lacking, with only the rock-cut trenches showing the outline of the building. As shown in the plan (Pl. 61) the temple was peripteral with deep pronaos and opisthodomos, and with a cella only *ca.* 20 m. in length and 11.20 m. in width, measured on the inside of the foundation trenches.¹¹

Of the superstructure nothing is left in place, but a jumble of wall blocks from the southwest corner of the building (Pl. 57 b) will be of help in restoring the temple. Numerous small fragments and one almost complete column drum, perhaps from the pronaos (Pl. 62 a), were found on the site. Many pieces of columns are exposed among the debris of the Isthmian Fortress, the largest of which has a diameter of 1.76 m., measured in the flutes, and *ca.* 1.86 m. on the arrises. There can be no doubt that all these column fragments come from the temple of Poseidon. They are of two types, one of which is smoothly finished with a straight chisel (Pl. 62 b), both in the flutes and at the joints, in a manner resembling that of the blocks in the foundations. The surface is covered with a very thin stucco, less than one millimeter thick. The second type is finished with a fine-toothed chisel and covered with heavier stucco. Some of the drums of this variety have preserved on the top surface two scratch lines dividing the circle into four quadrants (Pl. 62 c). All the drums with the center preserved have cuttings for empolia. A few small fragments from the capitals came to light in the excavations, some preserving the annulets (Pl. 57 c), but in no instance is the echinus sufficiently well preserved to show the profile. Over the whole area were found a number of guttae, mostly from the cornice, 0.039 m. long and 0.058 m. in diameter (Pl. 57 d).

Fragments from the marble roof were found in all the trenches of the temple area. One complete section of the raking sima (Pl. 57 e and f) has a height of 0.46 m. and a total length of 0.61 m., including the overlap, which is 0.058 m. long. The net length of the sima is 0.552 m., which represents the exposed length of the roof tile. But one pan tile, found together with the sima, has a total length of 0.715 m., a net length of 0.633 m., and a preserved width of 0.90 m. The profile of the sima is unusual, the nearest parallels of which come from Asia Minor and from Rhodes.¹²

¹¹ The following dimensions of the temple based on a rough calculation are tentative and will be revised after the whole area has been excavated. L. on stylobate 54.20 m.; W. on stylobate 23.70 m.; ratio of W. to L., 2.287; greatest lower diam. of columns 1.86 m.; axial spacings on the flanks, *ca.* 4.44 m.; at the ends *ca.* 4.46 m.

¹² I am indebted to Lucy T. Shoe for this information. See her article on Greek mouldings

Many pieces from the horizontal sima were found (Pl. 58 b), some of which fit together, but a restoration of the decorative patterns must await the discovery of more pieces. There is no moulding at the top, and the upper edge is not straight but follows roughly the contours of the decoration on the face. There are many fragments of large lion head spouts (Pl. 58 a) flanked by the spirals and leaf designs on the sima.

The architectural fragments of the temple do not all date from the same period. Among the debris from the cella are many blocks of a soft yellow limestone with characteristic rope marks all around (Pl. 58 c). Though none of these blocks were found *in situ*, they seem to have been used as fill beneath the floor of the temple, and it is likely that they belong to a predecessor of the classical building. Some fragments of roof tiles of very archaic nature were found both on the temple site and in the trench dug close to the temenos wall. The existence of an earlier temple is further indicated by the cutting for a foundation running east to west in the exact axis of the building (Pl. 61). It is difficult to see how such a foundation could have served any purpose in the later building, and it is natural to suppose that it was made for an earlier structure. No other foundation trenches were found that could belong to the same period, but it is possible, since the orientation was the same, that some of the foundations of the classical building coincided with those of an earlier temple.

Considerable remains of later structures were found in the same area, particularly at the southeast end of the long trench, where there is a mortar bedding for a Roman floor; and many of the marble blocks from the temple area show the characteristic technique of Roman work. Most prominent among these are several small lion heads from a marble sima of late date and degenerate character (Pl. 58 d). One might be tempted to associate these with the building, μέγεθος οὐ μείζων, which Pausanias mentions as being the temple of Poseidon. It is not easy, however, to reconcile this statement with the discovery of the large temple on the same site, the material of which was available in the time of Justinian for the construction of the Fortress and the Isthmian wall. If a small Roman temple occupied the same site, the problem arises where the column drums and other blocks of the classical building were kept before being built into the wall. Furthermore, Pausanias' statement about the size of the temple seems surprising in view of the large number of statues that he saw in the pronaos and within the cella itself. The term, "not very large in size," may be sufficiently elastic to cover a considerable range, but if his words have any significance at all, they cannot be applied to the temple whose foundations have been laid bare in our excavations. A temple of that size could hardly have been termed small, even by a writer accustomed to the somewhat inexact use of language which Pausanias has been accused of employing.

The discovery of the Poseidon temple has done much to clarify the topography

from Kos and Rhodes in *Hesperia* XIX, 1950, especially fig. 2, 1 and 2; and *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pl. XLII, 1 and 2.

of the whole region. Pausanias, approaching the sanctuary from the east, probably passed through the ornamental arch-way which later became the entrance into the Justinian Fortress. He first mentions the Theater and the Stadium, and on his route from there to the sanctuary he passed along an avenue with the statues of victorious athletes on one side and tall, straight pine trees on the other. Unless he used a round-about route he must have entered the temenos somewhere near its southeast corner. After describing the temple of Poseidon and its statuary he passed to the temple of Palaimon, which was inside the temenos on the left side of the entrance. It is possible that the southeast corner of the enclosure was somewhat irregular in shape, and the temple of Palaimon, which was circular, was doubtless very small. The position of the Doric temple in the very center of the quadrangle seems to preclude the existence of any other large structure within the same enclosure.

SCULPTURE

In one of the trenches dug near the west end of the temple was discovered, just below the surface, the upper part of a seated female figure of marble, about three times life-size (Pl. 59 c). The torso had been made in two pieces, the upper part of which was discovered; the arms and head, made separately and fastened by dowels, are missing. The statue is a good copy of a Greek original from the second half of the fifth century B.C.¹³ No attributes are preserved, but the type and size of the statue indicate that the figure represented a goddess—or, possibly, a deified empress in the guise of a goddess.

She wears three garments, differentiated by folds and texture. The under garment is an Ionic chiton, fastened over the right arm by small circular clasps, at least one of which is hidden by the peplos on the shoulder and five are visible. Long loose folds of thin fabric, very delicately rendered, hang vertically below the elbow. The only other place where the chiton is shown is below the left elbow, where the thin folds of the finer cloth are contrasted with the heavier fabric of the himation. Over the chiton she wears a Doric peplos (Pl. 59 a), fastened on the right shoulder with a large circular clasp; the corresponding clasp on the left shoulder is hidden by the outer garment. Beneath the short overfold in front the peplos hangs more or less vertically down to the lap, the horizontal surface of which is only roughly blocked out. It is obvious that the knees of the figure were high enough above the line of vision of the spectators so that the lap was invisible from below. The himation hangs over the left shoulder and falls in heavy folds in front. On the back its long sweeping folds are straight and shallow and less carefully rendered than in front (Pl. 59 b). The gar-

¹³ Inv. No. IS 1. Dimensions: Pres. H. 0.97 m.; greatest W. 1.33 m.; diam. of right arm at elbow, 0.182 m. (from side to side), and 0.197 m. (from top to bottom); cutting for head, 0.27 (left to right), and 0.22 m. (front to back).

ment extends diagonally from the left shoulder to below the right arm, where it reappears beneath the sleeve of the chiton; on the missing lower part in front it would have been thrown over the lap and terminated on the left side of the figure. The himation does not differ greatly in texture from the peplos, but the artist has managed the folds so skilfully that nowhere is there any confusion between the two garments.

The rendering of the drapery on the right shoulder is careless and rough, as if it were not meant to be visible. Beneath the folds of drapery extending vertically from the right arm there is a rough cutting (Pl. 59 b) on the side of the statue, which seems to have been made to fit the arm of a throne, but there is no corresponding cutting for the arm on the left side. Presumably the statue was one of a pair, with a companion figure on her left (the spectator's right) side. The figure did not face straight toward the front but was turned somewhat toward the spectator's right. The left forearm, which seems to have been held out almost horizontally, may have been supported by a rod held in the left hand, and when this was removed at the time of demolition the forearm probably fell down of its own weight, causing the front half of the socket and the adjoining folds of the himation to break away. This and some scratches on the right arm made by the plow, are the only serious damages to the marble.

At the horizontal joint on the under side, there is a well-marked anathyrosis (Pl. 59 c), but the vertical joint in front was less well fitted. There are no dowels or clamps, and the horizontality of the joint and the immense weight of the marble would have rendered metal fastening unnecessary.

The type represented by the Isthmia figure occurs in a statue from Corinth, about half life-size, representing Kybele seated on a rock with a lion beneath her feet. Franklin P. Johnson who published the Corinth statue refers to other figures with similar drapery, but makes this remark regarding the type: "No exact replicas are known to me and probably no original was closely copied."¹⁴ The discovery of the Isthmia statue raises the question again regarding the origin of the type, and this question is closely related to the problem of identification. The fact that the type was reproduced as a figure of Kybele offers no solution. Among the goddesses mentioned by Pausanias as being worshipped in the Isthmian sanctuary are Amphitrite, Leukothea, Galene, and Thalassa; and the inscription recording the donations of Licinius mentions temples of Eueteria and of Artemis and one of the Eleusinian deities, Demeter and Kore. The statue of Amphitrite, which Pausanias saw within the temple of Poseidon, was one of a group representing Poseidon and his wife standing in a chariot surrounded by Tritons, a dedication of gold and ivory presented by Herodes Atticus. In the pronaos Pausanias saw another statue of Amphitrite together with one of the Sea and two of Poseidon. He does not mention either the material or the size in this case, but it is not unlikely that the new statue is the figure

¹⁴ *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, no. 55.

of Amphitrite seen by the traveler. The fact that it was discovered in the rear of the temple might be explained on the ground that it had been transferred from the pronaos to the opisthodomos after Pausanias' visit. If this is the correct identification, the figure of Amphitrite and one of the two statues of Poseidon were probably represented together as the divine rulers of the Sea. The original can hardly have been very famous, since so few copies have survived. Clement of Alexandria,¹⁵ quoting Philochoros, refers to a bronze pair of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the island of Tenos, made by the Athenian sculptor Telesias, who is otherwise unknown. The statues were of colossal size, nine cubits high (4.158 m.), which would have been the approximate height of the Isthmia figure, and it is not impossible that the marble statue was copied from the bronze group at Tenos.

Some smaller pieces of sculpture came from the temple area, among them several fragments of a marble relief. The largest of the pieces¹⁶ preserves the upper part of a female figure to left, her bare arms extended toward the front and her body bent (Pl. 58 f), as if she were fleeing or about to leap forward. On her back is the hand of a second figure, perhaps represented as pushing her or—less likely—holding her back. The use of the drill is much in evidence in the folds of the drapery, and the right upper arm has been cut loose from the background by means of a deep groove produced with the drill. At the corner of the mouth a small circular drill hole has a somewhat disfiguring effect on the face. The sculptor may have intended to produce an expression of excitement or distress, but the face hardly seems agitated enough for a figure in headlong flight. It is possible, however, that the fleeing figure represented Ino-Leukothea on the point of leaping into the sea and holding the child, Melikertes-Palaimon, at arms length in front of her to guard him from her mad husband Athamas, whose hand rests on her back.

Four fragments were found of another slab, all showing signs of having been in fire (Pl. 58 e). In the top is a cutting for a dowel with which the slab was fastened to a wall or base, and on the back are marks of the saw. Two contiguous fragments from the left half of the slab preserve parts of two human figures, a standing male figure bending forward and raising a dying figure, probably female. From the right corner of the slab is preserved part of a man holding a club in his hand, possibly Theseus engaged in one of his exploits. The proportions of the figures on the second slab are somewhat larger than those on the first fragment, but the difference is slight and it is likely that all the pieces belong to the same frieze.

Among the marbles from the temple was found a standing female figure of an early archaic type (Pl. 59 d),¹⁷ preserved from the waist to just above the feet. Her arms extend vertically along the sides, and in each hand she holds a curved object

¹⁵ *Protrepticus*, p. 41.

¹⁶ Pres. H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.15 m.; greatest Th. ca. 0.09 m.

¹⁷ Inv. No. IS 3. The material is gray marble. Pres. H. 0.27 m.; Th. front to back 0.107 m.

which seems to be the tail of an animal. They reach down so far toward the feet of the figure that they can hardly be the tails of two lions, for which there does not seem to be room at the base. They may be snakes, whose heads would reach to the edge of the garment. The statuette may be a marble copy of a primitive wooden statue of the *xoanon* type, but unless other fragments come to light in subsequent excavations it will not be possible to identify the figure.

INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphical inventory of the season's finds comprises fifty pieces, most of them small fragments which cannot be restored, unless other pieces of the same documents turn up later. One small piece of black stone¹⁸ preserves four letters—ΤΡΙΤ—, which may possibly be part of the name Amphitrite. Another piece of white marble is from the bottom of a statue base (Pl. 59 e) set up by the Hellenodikai in honor of a certain Ptolemaios, who was agonothetes, presumably at the Isthmian Games.¹⁹

— — — — Πτ]ολεμαῖον
 — — — — ἀγωνοθέτην
 — — — — οἱ Ἑλληνοδῖκαι
 Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλήs)

In the lower right corner are three small letters and a punctuation in the form of a leaf.

The most important epigraphical discovery from this season is the Themison base²⁰ mentioned earlier in this report. The stone had been built into the Isthmian wall, southeast of the Stadium, and had been removed by the owner of the field and left close to the spot where it was found. It is made of a mottled grayish brown limestone. The whole base is preserved, with the exception of a few chips at the bottom, but the inscribed face has suffered badly from later handling (Pl. 59 f). In the top is a dowel hole with pour channel.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Μειλησίων Γ. Αἴλιον
 Θεμίσωνα Θεοδότου υἱὸν
 νεικήσαντα Ἰσθμια
 5 Νέμεα κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἔ
 καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶ-

¹⁸ Inv. No. ΙΣ-33.

¹⁹ Inv. No. ΙΣ-21. H. 0.46 m.; W. 0.66 m.; Th. 0.56 m.; H. of lett. 0.07 m.; found in pronaos of the Poseidon temple.

²⁰ Inv. No. ΙΣ-1. H. 0.89 m.; W. 0.41 m.; Th. 0.34 m.; H. of lett. 0.02-0.027 m.

νας ΠΘ μόνον καὶ
 πρῶτον Εὐρεπίδην
 Σοφοκλέα καὶ Τειμόθεον
 ἑαυτῶ(ι) μελοποιήσαντα
 Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς)

The inscription seems to date from the first half of the second century after Christ.

If the two letters ΠΘ (89) in line 7 are correctly read, the number of victories, 94 in all, won by Themison must be something of a record. His career as a poet and musician need not have been limited by age to the same extent as if he had been an athlete, and since he was the "first and the only one" to engage in the particular type of art in which he excelled, the number of his victories was presumably the same as that of his performances. The verb *μελοποιεῖν* would seem to imply that he set the dramas of Sophokles, Euripides and Timotheos to music, but the exact force of *ἑαυτῶ* in that connection is obscure. His accomplishment may have consisted in borrowing themes from the works of the three playwrights for the composition of lyric poetry which he would also have set to music. The passage would then mean that Themison was the first and only one to use "for his own purpose" (the dramas of) Euripides, Sophokles and Timotheos in the production of musical and lyrical compositions. The order in which the names of the three fifth-century playwrights appear is significant in view of the patronage offered by Euripides to Timotheos after the first unfavorable impression made by the Milesian upon Athenian audiences. Themison, like his famous fellow-citizen of five centuries earlier, seems to have been an innovator, and it is not unlikely that he considered himself the artistic heir of Timotheos.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Some small pieces of pottery were discovered in the temple area, dating from the Geometric period to Roman times, but few of the fragments were found in any significant relationship to the temple. From the small trench close to the north temenos wall, among debris that seem to date chiefly from the end of the fourth century B.C., came a handle of an amphora stamped with the name ΑΛΚΑΝΟΡΟΣ (Pl. 60 a).²¹ One piece of a red-figured fish plate (Pl. 60 b)²² was found in the trench close to the west wall of the Justinian Fortress in a Roman context.

Among the miscellaneous finds from the temple area are two iron spear points

²¹ Inv. No. LP-5. Virginia Grace has kindly informed me that this stamp has previously been found only at Troy, where several examples, some stamped with the same die, have turned up.

²² Inv. No. IP-21.

(Pl. 60 c),²³ presumably dedications in the temple, and one small chisel (Pl. 60 c, lower left)²⁴ badly corroded. One bronze arrow point²⁵ (Pl. 60 c, center, bottom row) in very good condition was acquired from a member of the local community. Many fragments of bronze bowls (Pl. 60 e),²⁶ some with a border of raised dots below the rim, were found in the trench by the north temenos wall and similar pieces came from the temple area. A few pieces of bronze (Pl. 60 e, lower right), too heavy to be parts of bowls, seem to be from statues.

In a plowed field south of the Justinian Fortress a piece of limestone (Pl. 60 f) was picked up by the foreman of the excavation, which proved to be part of a halter²⁷ (jumping weight). It is curved at the top, and the curve of the preserved end is probably somewhat more abrupt than was that of the missing end. The bottom is slightly convex and the middle part was raised *ca.* 0.002 m. above the two ends. To



FIG. 1. Gold Earring. Two and one-half times actual size.

give the athlete a good grip on the weight there is a large cutting on one side, extending through more than half the thickness and met by a smaller cutting from the other side. The object is of special interest since it was part of the athletic gear of the Isthmian Games. The type is well known from two completely preserved examples found at Corinth and now in the National Museum in Athens.²⁸

A discovery of peculiar interest was made during the preliminary survey, prior to the commencement of the excavations. On top of the "Rache," among weeds growing in the earth from a trench dug by German soldiers during the last war, was found a gold earring (Fig. 1 and Pl. 60 d) of exquisite design and very delicate

²³ Inv. No. IM-71, L. 0.34 m. (Pl. 60 c, top); No. IM-45, L. 0.07 m. (Pl. 60 c, lower right).

²⁴ Inv. No. IM-48, L. 0.12 m.

²⁵ Inv. No. IM-32, L. 0.036 m.

²⁶ Inv. Nos. IM-5, 6, 9, 18, 20, 22, 27.

²⁷ Inv. No. IM-52. Preserved L. 0.085 m.; H. 0.095 m.; W. 0.077 m.; total L. probably *ca.* 0.22 m.

²⁸ They are illustrated in E. Norman Gardiner's *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 300, fig. 62.

workmanship.²⁹ It consists of a lion's head and twisted strands of gold wire forming a loop. It is a common type of fourth century B.C. jewelry and one of the best examples of its kind. This chance discovery in an area which was not expected to yield antiquities of any kind led to a cursory examination of the ridge. Some pottery and roof tiles of classical Greek times were found on the surface, but much of the terrain has been disturbed by extensive quarrying both in ancient and modern times. When the excavations are resumed a more thorough testing of the fill on the whole hill will be made.

The first exploratory campaign at the Isthmian sanctuary has fully justified the expectations of the excavators. In a brief season's work with a very small force of workmen the most crucial problem of the topography was solved, the location and extent of the principal sanctuary were determined, and some objects of high intrinsic value were brought to light. The immediate objective of the next campaign will be to excavate the whole temple area, to continue the investigation of the "Brandschutt" along the north temenos wall, to determine the location of the temple of Palaimon and perhaps to test the accumulation of fill in the Theater. Over most of the area involved the soil appears to be comparatively shallow, and in many places the outline of classical buildings are visible above ground. It should be possible in three or four campaigns to uncover the most important of the buildings and to explore the whole area between the Poseidon temple and the Isthmian wall in order to fix the principal points in the topography and to add new information to the history of the Isthmian Games.

OSCAR BRONEER

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²⁹ Inv. No. IM-65, greatest dim. *ca.* 0.017 m.; Weight 2 grams.

OLYNTHIAKA

(PLATES 63-64)

1.

THE ALTAR IN THE "HOUSE OF MANY COLORS" (F -ii 9)

ALTARS, or evidence for their position, have been found in the court of at least ten Olynthian houses.¹ The altar was regularly placed more or less in the middle of the court, sometimes accurately centered, as in the Villa of Good Fortune.² The altar of F -ii 9, however, was set next to a wall between two doors into the kitchen complex *ghk*, probably because the court was small and a central altar would have been an inconvenience. The site of the altar is marked by the omission of the cobblestone paving in an area approximately 1.20 m. square, according to the text, but about 1.20 m. north to south by about 1.00 m. east to west by the plan.³ Of the "euthynteria," as we may term it, on which the altar rested there was found only a fragment of one block with clamp holes along one side.

Of the upper part of the altar only the fragments of a gable "barrier" seem to have been found. The height of the "altar top" is given as 0.165 m.; the photo of the remains shows that this must refer to the height of the palmette acroteria at the ends of the pediment. What is preserved of this barrier is almost identical in design, angle of pedimental slope, and height of the end acroteria with the complete specimen found in A 10.⁴ Obviously, therefore, the restoration in *Olynthus*, XII (pl. 173.1 and p. 189) with a restored length of only 0.39 m. would produce, especially with a central acroterion like that of A 10 restored, a squat and crowded effect which is not possible (Pl. 63 c). The length of the gable barrier of the F -ii 9 altar should doubtless approximate that of the A 10 one, or about 0.62 m.

The fragmentary "euthynteria" block mentioned above was not found *in situ*, and in plan and photos has been fitted into the southeast corner of the gap in the cobblestones. It is much more probable that it should be placed in the northeast (or southwest) corner with its length running north to south (Pl. 63 b). In this position its width would be just about half the width of the gap in the cobblestones from east

¹ Houses A 3, A 10, A v 6, A vi 3, A vi 5, A viii 5, A viii 6 (?), F -ii 9, F -iii 9, the House of the Comedian, and the Villa of Good Fortune. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, St. Louis, 1949, p. 176, says there are only 6 or 8.

² *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 85.2.

³ *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 189 f., pls. 158, 162.4, 163.1, 164.2, 173.1. The statement in the text is obviously an error, since the gap is *not* square.

⁴ *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 81.2.

to west, and the clamp-cutting near its broken end would be about centered from north to south with one clamp-cutting symmetrically on either side.⁵ The depressed margin along the north side, as thus placed, measures perhaps 8 or 9 cms. wide, and the east margin perhaps 12 to 14 cms.;⁶ if restored symmetrically, as in our plan, the north-south dimension of the raised area, on which the base course of the altar evidently rested, would be slightly over one meter, while the east-west dimension would be about 0.75 m. The dimensions of the base course of the altar in A 10, whose gable end, as we have seen, is so remarkably similar to that found in F -ii 9, are 1.02 by 0.74 m. The coincidence is so remarkably close that I have used a replica of the A 10 altar in the restored drawing (Pl. 63 a). We may be confident that the long axis of the altar ran north to south, following the regular practice in Olynthian courtyard altars, in spite of the statement, without supporting evidence, in *Olynthus*, XII (p. 190, note 16) that the axis of this altar was "not north-south but west-east."⁷

The most interesting feature of the F -ii 9 altar, however, is the pair of rectangular bases set in the cobblestone pavement at the northeast and southeast corners of the gap (Pl. 63 b). They are mentioned in the text but left unexplained.⁸ Their position is certainly suggestive of a canopy supported at the outer corners by small posts and no doubt supported along the inner side against the adobe wall.

I find no mention in Yavis of covered altars.⁹ However canopies do appear over altars in several black-figure vases (Pl. 63 d), one in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹⁰ and three in the British Museum;¹¹ in none of these are there any columns or posts, the canopies being merely horizontal roofs of small size projecting from a wall (Pl. 63 d, top right). But another similar piece of "entablature" (as the description terms it) is supported on one side by an Ionic column (Pl. 63 d, top left).¹²

A fourth-century Campanian vase (Pl. 63 d, bottom) depicts Cassandra seated on an altar, similar to those commonly seen in household scenes on other vases of the period, with a pillar on either side supporting a gable with acroteria and decorative animal figures.¹³

⁵ No dimensions are given in *Olynthus*, XII; from the plan (pl. 158), with which the photos seem to agree, it should be *ca.* 0.50 m. wide and *ca.* 0.80 m. long, as preserved.

⁶ As estimated from the plan (pl. 158); the text gives no dimensions.

⁷ Yavis repeats this error in his description (p. 180, #10), and his fig. 85 is not the gable of this altar but that of A 10 (his p. 179, #9, which is further wrongly attributed to A vi 5).

⁸ The dimensions of the bases are not given; by the plan they should be about 0.20 by 0.15 m. They are said to have "tenon cuttings on their west faces," but there is no diagram to make clear what is meant.

⁹ His section 34 deals with altars in small roofed shrines, but this is quite different from a roof built specifically to cover an altar.

¹⁰ *C.V.A.*, Bib. Nat. 2, pl. 64, 2.

¹¹ *C.V.A.*, Br. Mus. 6, pl. 97, 3, 10, pl. 98, 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 98, 7.

¹³ *C.V.A.*, Mus. Campano 1, pl. 22, 3; *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 470, fig. 13. Some of the details are difficult to see, due to surface deterioration of the white color.

The only altar, of which there are material remains, with evidence of a canopy known to me is one at Corinth (not mentioned by Yavis) of the III-II century B.C., a couple of meters east of foundations belonging to a small temple north of the Peirene Fountain. The altar is semicircular (nearly 4 m. in diameter), and forming a square enclosing it are four bases for Doric columns surely intended to support a roof.¹⁴ No attempt is made to restore the appearance of the whole, and no analogous altars are referred to in the publication.

The Olynthus altar provides us then with perhaps the earliest known remains of a Greek canopied altar. Our Plate 63 a suggests its general appearance, restoring a simple form of sloping, tiled roof.

2.

AN INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT ON THE NORTH HILL

In *Olynthus*, VIII (pp. 128 f.) A xi 10 was treated as a more or less ordinary house. I would now like to suggest that it was in part, at least, used as some kind of industrial establishment (Pl. 63 f).¹

There are various features in which it differs from the ordinary house. More attention was given to the construction of the doorway of A xi 10 than to that of any Olynthian private house. Its combination of single and double doorways is found occasionally elsewhere,² but never do we have a solid threshold of well-dressed and well-fitted masonry extending across the full width of the doorways; and the depth of the wheel-ruts bears eloquent testimony to the amount of traffic passing in and out.

This doorway, moreover, does not lead directly into the court but into a broad, probably unroofed³ area, *i*, through whose length a cart could have passed—or even beyond, into *f*. The large room, *j*, about 7.30 by 4.90 m., adjacent to this passage on the east, contained a “Catonian” press in the southwest corner, the only one so far

¹⁴ *Corinth*, I, ii, pp. 9-13.

¹ Pl. 63 e and f are reproduced from Robinson, D. M. and Graham, J. W., *Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pl. 102 with the kind permission of The Johns Hopkins Press and the authors. After writing this note I was pleased to find that W. A. McDonald has also made a similar suggestion, though without working it out,—“it is likely that some kind of commerce was involved” (in A xi 10), *Studies in Honor of D. M. Robinson*, I, St. Louis, 1951, p. 371, note 23.

² In House A 9, which may have been used for commercial as well as residential purposes, as suggested in *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 79; in A v 6; and in A viii 4, described in *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 21 f., where the threshold is said to be of dressed stone and to show wheel-ruts, though the plan shows only one large, perhaps roughly-shaped block of stone in situ in the large doorway and no wheel-ruts are indicated. For the doorway of A xi 10 see *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 256 f., pl. 69.

³ Note the area of cobbling near the double-doors and the drain through the threshold; the wall between *h* and *i* would then be a screen wall two or three meters high.

recognized at Olynthus—or indeed, to my knowledge, in Greece;⁴ also two large terracotta pithoi,⁵ and a large bronze brazier.⁶

Rooms *cd* form the common Olynthian “oecus-unit,”⁷ it would appear, and the cobble-paved kitchen (*d*) here occupies the whole space instead of having a bath in one end as so often in such units in private houses. Off the large room, *c*,⁸ opens a room *g*, 3.70 by 3.20 m. or nearly 12 sq. m.,⁹ which may have been pressed into service as a bathroom but is far bigger than the normal Olynthian bathroom which is rarely as great as 4 sq. m.; and the gap in the northeast corner of the cement floor, *ca.* 1.70 by 1.20 m., though no doubt designed for some kind of terracotta basin, is much larger than the normal Olynthian bathtub, which measures *ca.* 1.00-1.25 m. long by 0.70-0.75 m. wide.¹⁰ The drain is also much more capacious than usual for a bathroom. Perhaps the room served as a laundry,¹¹ or in some connection with the operations carried on in room *j*.

The eastern half of the house seems to have been used largely, then, for certain industrial processes probably connected with agriculture. Possibly the owner had a large farm in the neighborhood of the city. The western half is laid out on the usual house plan: north rooms (*ab*), pastas (*e*), and court (*h*). The large size of the court and the finding of part of the rim of a very large pithos in it, and of two more pithoi *in situ* just inside the pastas, in combination with the fact that the two halves are intimately connected by doors between *e* and *f* and between *h* and *i*, suggest that one person owned the whole of A xi 10 and lived in the western portion and in the (probable) second-storey rooms, and permitted his business activities to overflow into the western half of the building.

3.

THE ANDRONITIS-GYNAECONITIS AND HOUSE WINDOWS

It is not my intention to discuss here the general question of the andronitis and gynaeconitis in the Greek house.¹ The evidence is still insufficient to permit one to draw a convincing picture of the general practice—if indeed there *was* any general practice!

⁴ For a description of the Olynthian press and literature see *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 339-341.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 77.1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 52.1.

⁷ For a discussion of the kitchen complex or “oecus-unit” see *ibid.*, pp. 185-199; Mylonas in *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 369-398; and my forthcoming article.

⁸ In *c* were found 56 loomweights, which is not an unusual number even in private houses.

⁹ *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 129, 202.

¹⁰ The gap in the bathroom floor of B vi 2, for example, is *ca.* 1.30 by 0.75 m.

¹¹ As suggested *ibid.*, p. 202.

¹ I see no need to alter the brief presentation of the question in *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 167-169. An asterisk beside a house number in this paper indicates that a plan of the house will be found in Pl. 64 a.

Regarding the andronitis and gynaeconitis in the Olynthian house I still hold the view that "no trace of segregated apartments, nor even of single rooms definitely set apart for the use of women, is to be found at Olynthus,"² and that "the andron was only *peculiarly*, and not *exclusively*, the men's room."³

In an article written after the 1938 excavations, of which he was the field director, Professor George E. Mylonas emphasizes—over-emphasizes, in my opinion—the separation of the andron, which with its "prostas" or anteroom he considers to form the "andronitis," from the rest of the house. He says that the andron "was placed usually in the front part of the house and [in F -ii 9 *] almost next to the front door. The guests of the master could thus come and depart without going through the entire house, and the women could be out of sight if they stayed in the 'pastas' and inner rooms beyond it while the entertainment lasted. The 'andron' is separated by a solid wall from this private part of the house."⁴ Robinson has now adopted Mylonas' view and speaks of "the secluded *andronitis*, which was separated from the *gynaeconitis* by a solid wall and not by a doorway."⁵

I cannot help but feel that Mylonas has been carried away by what one would expect to be the practice, under the spell of the example in the finest house excavated in 1938, F -ii 9,* the "House of Many Colors," which appears to illustrate this theory so beautifully. In his restored plan⁶ the andron *d* (his plan is lettered differently) opens into the anteroom *f*, and this by a door in the opposite wall into the entrance *j*. If correct, the andron is indeed well isolated in this particular house. But the entrance from *f* into *j* is not certain, since the wall here is not well preserved.⁷ The normal position for the door into *f* would certainly be at right angles to the doorway into *d*,⁸ in other words, into the east end of the pastas, exactly as in A 1 and in the Villa of Good Fortune,*⁹ and the text does not make it clear that there is definite proof that the door was not so located in this case.

If this example is uncertain, B vi 5 * does provide one clear instance of an andron opening directly on the entrance-passage, but in view of the rather odd layout and inferior quality of the rest of the house it can hardly be accounted a very significant exception.¹⁰ In any event its evidence is far outweighed by the contrary evidence, as will be shown.

Mylonas really invokes a double-barrelled explanation for the selection of a

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴ *Class. Jour.*, XXXV, 1940, p. 402.

⁵ *Olynthus*, XII, p. 188.

⁶ *Class. Jour.*, XXXV, 1940, p. 393, fig. 1.

⁷ Much more is preserved than is shown in the plan, *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 158, as can be seen from the photo pl. 164.1.

⁸ *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 177.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 89 (A 1), pl. 84 (Villa of Good Fortune).

¹⁰ *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 106.

position for the andron: that it be near the front door, and that it be remote from the pastas and "inner rooms beyond," though he implies that the two statements amount to the same thing. Though often so, this is not always the case. For example in the "3," "5," and "7" houses, that is, those in the center of the north side of a typical Olynthian ten-house block (Pl. 64 a), the entrance must break through the north rooms and pastas in order to reach the court in the southern half of the house. We might therefore excuse the three actual examples of this situation which do show a close conjunction of andron and pastas, namely A iv 7, A vi 3,* and A vi 5,* on the grounds of unavoidable necessity. But even if we grant this concession, there still remains a considerable residue of androns embarrassing to Mylonas' theory, androns which do open on the pastas although they could easily have avoided this and still have been near the house entrance, namely A 1,* A vi 1,* A xi 9, B v 1, A viii 1,* A viii 2,* the Villa of Good Fortune,* and probably also A iv 7.

But if we reject, as I think we must, this part of Mylonas' theory, that the andron should be remote from the pastas,¹¹ is his dictum true that it is "placed usually in the front part of the house and almost next the front door"? My own view, as expressed in *Olynthus*, VIII (pp. 177-9), is not so different in effect but very different in the purpose ascribed to it: namely, that the andron was placed next a street in order that it could be lighted by a window or windows. Since by both "laws" the andron should be located next a street, in most cases we cannot tell which "law" is being obeyed. For example, a favorite position in the "1" and "9" houses, at the northwest and northeast corners of a block (Pl. 64 a) is at the northwest and northeast corners of the house, respectively,¹² which places it immediately adjacent to the door in the middle of the west and east sides respectively,¹³ but which also, be it noted, enables it to have windows on *two* sides.

It is the exceptional cases which must therefore be depended upon to decide the issue. Even one "1" house definitely favors my principle: A vi 1 * has its andron on the north side next a street, but at the *northeast* corner, in other words, as remote as possible from the entrance.¹⁴ The location of the andron in the Villa of Good Fortune * is particularly significant since the house-entrance is in the normal position opening from the court to the street on the south, and since the planner had a free choice of location for the andron as there were no directly adjacent buildings on any side to prevent the insertion of windows. Thus if he had placed it in the southwest corner (where he actually placed a storeroom, *j*), it could have had windows on two sides *and* have been directly adjacent to the main entrance. Yet he actually put it remote from the entrance in the very *penetralia* of the house, in its northwest corner

¹¹ About 24 out of the 32 known androns are in the northern half.

¹² A viii 1, A ix 1, A x 1, B v 1, B xi 1, A xi 9, and F -ii 9.

¹³ *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 153.

¹⁴ The owner could afford to sacrifice light on one side for the andron was exceptionally small and narrow, *ibid.*, pl. 97.

(where it could still, of course, have windows on two sides), and opening off the pastas!¹⁵

Even more instructive are the androns in the "2" and "10" houses at the southwest and southeast corners of a block (Pl. 64 a). These houses regularly have their entrance in the middle of the south side; we should therefore, by Mylonas' principle, expect the andron to be situated on the south side of the house. Yet in the only two satisfactory examples, A viii 2¹⁶ and B xii 2,¹⁷ the andron is placed in the northwest corner with a street on only one side, even though a southwest corner position would have put the andron next the main entrance and have allowed it to have windows on *two* sides! It seems necessary to conclude, therefore, that the designer deliberately sacrificed the opportunity to have windows on two sides in order to put the andron remote from the front door in the main and more private part of the house which opened on the pastas.

It is also noticeable that even where the andron *is* near the house entrance, that is in the "4," "6," and "8" houses (Pl. 64 a), where in order to be next the street it must be located in the southern half of the house, its anteroom is placed on the far side from the street thus compelling the male guest entering the andron to go almost to the pastas. Examples are A vi 4,* A vi 6,* and A vii 4.* The anteroom is not placed next the street because (according to my theory) the andron wanted a window on the street.¹⁸ And in other instances, where the andron entrance could have opened directly into the entrance-passage of the house simply by putting the door in another wall, the architect did not elect to do so: A 1,* A 6, A vi 3,* A vi 5 * *a* and *d*, and A viii 1.* The only exceptions are B vi 5 * and the problematical F -ii 9 * with which we started.

¹⁵ Note also that the other main rooms, the mosaic-floored suite *ef*, are placed in the northeast corner of the house.

¹⁶ The anteroom to the andron, *a*, of A viii 2 is not, as the text (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 15) implies, room *e*, but room *b*; like A vii 4 and several others this raised border evidently did not stop at the entrance (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 174). There was certainly no door from the andron into *e* nor was *e*, as suggested in *Olynthus*, XII (p. 14) a porter's room (cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 210 on the existence of such rooms in small private houses) for *h* is not an entranceway. Robinson claims (p. 14) that the entrance to A viii 2 was from the west, from Ave. A, into *h* because the A viii 1 entrance was so placed; in doing so he does not distinguish between the normal position for "1" (and "9") house-entrances and for "2" (and "10"), although this is explained in *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 153; he makes the same error with regard to F -iii 10. The base at the northeast corner of *h* is probably for a pillar supporting the stair-landing (see my article on the Second Storey).

¹⁷ Only the andron complex of B xii 2 has been excavated. F -iii 10 does have its andron on the south side but entirely outside the normal limits of the house and, in any event, not near the entrance (*Olynthus*, XII, pl. 190). If the andron in the House of the Comedian can be cited as an example of an andron near the door, yet it is a small and possibly "secondary" andron (see restored plan of the house, *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 64, fig. 3).

¹⁸ B v 1 does, exceptionally, place its anteroom next the street, for no good reason that I can see; but the andron still has one side adjacent to a street, and in any event is in the northern part of the house (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 103).

I therefore continue to hold the view set forth in *Olynthus*, VIII, and in my unpublished dissertation,¹⁹ that the andron was placed next to the street in order to receive light from windows, not for the purpose of male privacy. Logical as Mylonas' theory may seem, it does not coincide with the facts. And I must also reject the idea that the andron was secluded from the pastas and "private part of the house," which directly contradicted my first principle, "the natural one that the andron, being the most important room, should be in the northern half of the house, where the principal living quarters were regularly located."²⁰ When this meant that the andron could have no window on a street the principle was sacrificed; but it was not abandoned, as we have seen (A viii 2,* B xii 2), when it only meant giving up the opportunity of having windows on *two* sides.

4.

THE SEMI-ENCLOSED PORTICO AND WESTWARD ORIENTATION

The lack, or scarcity, of window-glass until late ancient times made the ancient house an "introvert." Windows were probably not infrequent at Olynthus even on the ground floor,¹ but even in good weather with opened shutters they can have admitted only a limited amount of light as they were, no doubt, of comparatively small size. Most of the light was obtained from an inner court which, being placed in the southern half of the house, allowed the slanting sunlight of winter to strike deep into the rooms or porticoes crowding around it, particularly on the north side where they were likewise best protected from the north wind by the house walls.²

The happy compromise between maximum light and minimum cold is not easy to attain and was a particularly acute problem in a northern Greek city such as Olynthus where the winter temperatures today often fall below freezing, and where the Polygyros hills to the north are too distant to afford much protection.³ The size of the court varies widely from a maximum of about 20%⁴ to a minimum of about 5% in the Villa of Good Fortune. Many factors besides the size of the court affect the amount of light available to the rooms, in particular (for the main north half of the house in houses of regular plan) the length and height of the pastas-opening on the court. Ordinarily rooms on the east and west of the court, as in A vii 4 (Pl. 64 a)

¹⁹ *Domestic Architecture in Classical Greece* (Johns Hopkins University, 1933), pp. 75 f.

²⁰ *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 177.

¹ *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 264-266, and see the preceding part (3.) of this article.

² *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 144-146.

³ There have been several light falls of snow during the excavations.

⁴ This percentage represents the unroofed area of the court relative to the rest of the house which it lighted; the percentage in A 9 is 19.8%, in A viii 2 perhaps 19.5%, and A vi 5 ca. 15.2%; *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 157.

and the Villa of the Bronzes, reduce the length of the possible opening of the pastas; but sometimes, even where rooms do not exist on one side, the length is deliberately curtailed by presenting a section of solid wall to the court, as in A vi 7 (Pl. 64 a).⁵

Too great a reduction of the *length* of the pastas-opening on the court, however, was undesirable as it darkened the rooms in the northeast and northwest corners of the house.⁶ Some architects therefore resorted to reducing the *height* of the opening by building an adobe wall between the lower part of the pillars. The opening was thus retained where it was most effective in admitting light and the warmth of the sun in winter when its rays were at a low angle, while the wall below shut out the cold floor-level draughts.⁷ The clearest instance of this practice is in A iv 9 (Pl. 64 c) where, adjacent to the central pillar is an 0.83 m. wide opening with a well-worn threshold, while the remains of an adobe wall rose, at the time of the excavation, to a height of 0.70 m. above the floor and 0.13 m. above the top surface of one of the bases.⁸ This construction of an adobe wall (of undetermined height) between pillars finds an almost exact parallel structurally in the "oecus-units" with the "pillar-partition" discussed elsewhere.⁹

Another example noted in the 1938 publication, E. S. H. 5, has a continuous rubble foundation with no bases as preserved (the eastern half of the house has disappeared), except for a single pilaster base at the west end with an adjacent opening fitted with a door; I still feel that "we must infer that the rubble foundation supported a solid adobe wall perhaps a meter and a half to two meters high, above which were short pillars reaching to the ceiling, with broad openings between."¹⁰ We should probably also restore a similar wall between I and II in many "oecus-units" lacking pillar-bases in the partition-wall.

The interpretation of E. S. H. 5 is confirmed by a well-preserved example discovered in 1938, the "House of Many Colors" (F -ii 9), the finest house excavated in that year (Pl. 64 a).¹¹ It was not recognized as such by Robinson who nevertheless wondered how the pastas and rooms to the north could have been lighted "since the only apparent source of light is the single door from the court." Yet the scheme is almost identical with that of E. S. H. 5: a pilaster base at the west end followed by an opening about a meter wide, then a continuous rubble foundation with part of

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶ Note how in A 10 the andron, *i*, was moved (in planning) several feet south from the line of the pastas in order that the open front of the pastas might continue on through and thus allow more light to reach room *b* (*ibid.*, pl. 88.2).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 164 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-194; *Olynthus*, XII, Excursus II (Mylonas); and my forthcoming article on the "oecus-unit," "Olynthiaka, 6."

¹⁰ *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 164 ff. Note that the position of the westernmost base in A iv 9 proves that pillars did not always start at floor-level (Pl. 64 c).

¹¹ *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 189, 191.

an adobe wall still *in situ* for a length of over a meter and a half and to perhaps a height of 0.30 m. to judge from the photos.¹² The plan in *Olynthus*, XII (pl. 158) misleadingly omits this stretch of adobe and shows rubble extending to its western extremity. The text further states that the plaster facing this adobe continues across the jamb (at what height is not specified), showing "that there was no door in this opening"; whether the fact is correct or the inference cogent matters little for our reconstruction (Pl. 64 d), but pl. 164, 2 in the publication certainly seems to show a pillar base below the adobe wall at the east side of the opening. The lower part of the pillar standing on this base may have been completely encased within the adobe wall, as was probably done in some of the "pillar-partitions" of the "oecus-unit."

There are perhaps a dozen other possible examples¹³ of the "semi-enclosed" (as we may name it) pastas, but it is rarely possible to be sure, in cases where there is a considerable difference in the level of the pastas and of the court, whether a line of rubble between the bases is intended as a foundation for an adobe wall or merely as a retaining wall.¹⁴

The same type of windowed wall was also observed in a house, A xi 9, with a complete peristyle (Pl. 63 e).¹⁵ The court had a cement floor drained by a channel at one corner and surrounded on all four sides by a rubble foundation with no sign of pillar-bases, and no openings except for one in the center of the north side. The effect must have been remarkably like that in the famous Villa of the Mysteries at Boscoreale.¹⁶

A viii 5, excavated in 1938, is a very interesting but hitherto unrecognized example of the combination of a semi-enclosed pastas and a complete peristyle, the other three porticoes being of the normal open variety (Pl. 64 b, A). Pillar-bases remain on the north and west and have probably only disappeared on the south, where the cobble paving has been badly destroyed¹⁷ and the west half of the south foundation of the house has gone. On the east side is a long room with pastas-like proportions, with, instead of the usual row of pillar-bases, a continuous rubble foundation bordering the east of the court and extending beyond it to north and south. That this was really an open portico on the court is further shown by the form of the

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 159.2, 160.1.

¹³ A-1, A 2, A v 1, A v 5, A vi 9, A vii 2, A vii 7, A vii 8, A xi 10, A vi 4, A vi 5, and the South Villa.

¹⁴ As in A vi 7 (*Olynthus*, VIII, pls. 37.2, 97) where the narrow and irregular line of dressed stone was clearly intended as a retaining-wall and not as a foundation for a wall.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 165. Pl. 63 e is reproduced from Robinson, D. M. and Graham, J. W., *Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pl. 102 with the kind permission of The Johns Hopkins Press and the authors.

¹⁶ Carrington, *Pompeii*, pp. 72 f., pl. IX.

¹⁷ The representation of the cobbling on the south side in the plan is misleading; compare *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 18 with pl. 19.1, 2.

cobbling of the court which extends in a band about one meter wide not only around the north, west, and south inside the line of the bases but also along the east side.¹⁸ It is highly improbable that, as suggested in *Olynthus*, XII (p. 27), there were columns (or even pillars) set directly on this foundation; well cut and set bases would hardly be used on the north and west and yet be denied the main portico on the east. Surely here again we have the semi-enclosed scheme.

In the remarks on the general plan of this house (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 26) there is no mention of its most remarkable feature: that this house, unique among all the houses yet excavated at Olynthus is oriented to the west rather than to the south! If one looks at the plan with north at the top the plan seems quite irregular (Pl. 64 b, A); indeed it looks like a double house divided on the line between *bk* and *cf*. But, turned with the east side to the top (Pl. 64 b, B), it immediately becomes intelligible: *f* is the pastas,¹⁹ and *dghij* the "northern" suite of rooms; the "southern" half of the house contains only the court and minor porticoes and the small room *b*.

Southward orientation was of course preferred in house architecture but westward was next best, and is found in some of the houses at Delos, such as House IV B (a "pastas" example), and the *Maison du Trident* (with complete peristyle), for house-lots were not ideally shaped on this rugged island.²⁰ A pastas-house at Kaulonia is oriented toward the east.²¹

The reason for the westward orientation of A viii 5 is no less interesting. It is evident that the planner of the house chose the inferior orientation in preference to breaking up the usual north series of rooms opening on the pastas by an entrance-passage which must, in the three central houses of the north half of the Olynthian block, be located in the north side of the house (Pl. 64 a);²² the end houses ("1" and "9") of the northern row always avoided this wasteful loss of space by an entry from the side on the east or west street.²³

Late parallels for the semi-enclosed peristyle were noted in *Olynthus*, VIII (p. 166) at Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Villa of the Mysteries, and the House of the

¹⁸ The center was left in hard-packed earth, it being very unlikely that the remains of stone slabs (part of a drain?) in the southwest corner originally extended over the whole surface (*pace Olynthus*, XII, p. 27). The purpose of the meter-wide cobblestone was evidently to catch the drip from the portico roofs and thus prevent erosion of the surface of the court; in A viii 9 the line of cobbling on the north side of the court begins *ca.* 0.60 m. from the line of pillars (only one *in situ*). Combining the evidence of these two, we may infer that the eaves overhung something greater than 0.60 m. and less than 1.00 m. Cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 238.

¹⁹ The text does notice that *f* "resembles a pastas," and remarks that "it would almost seem that the pastas was transferred from the north to the east" (*Olynthus*, XII, pp. 27 f.).

²⁰ *Délos*, VIII, pls. III-V and XIII.

²¹ *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 150; *Mon. Ant.*, XXIII, 1914, pp. 806-825, pl. VIII.

²² *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 152 f.

²³ F -ii 9 and F -iii 9 are good examples of this principle from the 1938 excavations (*Olynthus*, XII, pl. 196).

Mosaic Atrium, the latter with glass filling the spaces above the wall.²⁴ Other examples which have since come to my attention are the central section of the stoa on the south side of the agora at Priene, which is walled up to about half the height of the columns with a solid masonry wall to provide shelter from the cold north winds;²⁵ and the colonnade of "Building J," south of the Tholos in the Athenian Agora, of the late archaic period (*ca.* 500-480 B.C.).²⁶

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²⁴ Add also the House of the Menander (Maiuri, *Casa del Menandro*, figs. 34-37); and the Forum Baths (Maiuri, *Pompeii*, p. 47).

²⁵ Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pl. XCIII.

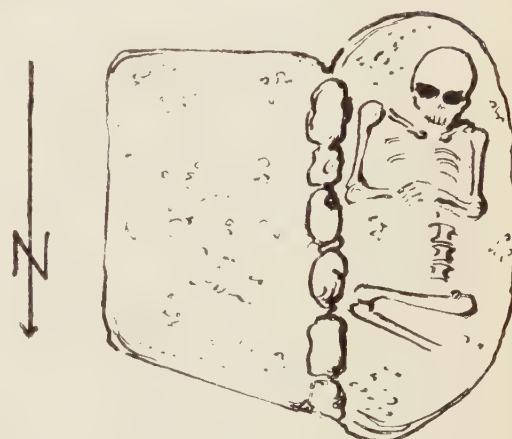
²⁶ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, *The Tholos of Athens*, figs. 26, 32, and p. 36, "the intercolumniations were closed, at least in their lower parts, by screen walls."



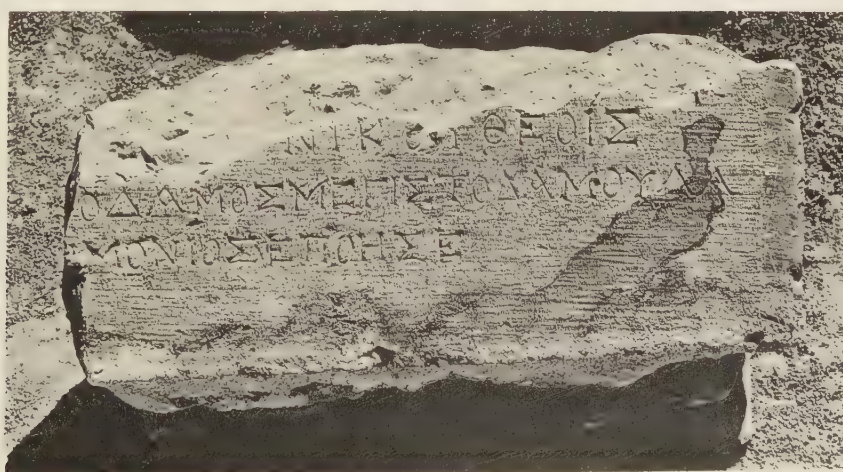
a. General View of Tavern of Aphrodite from S.W. Stylobate of South Stoa in lower right foreground; Bema at top toward right



b. Geometric Wall (B) from East



c. Grave I of Geometric Period



d. Statue Base



a. 1 and 2 Corinthian Vases of Later VI century; 3 Rhodian Figurine



b. Sample Figurines from the Deposit



c. Comic Actor Figurine



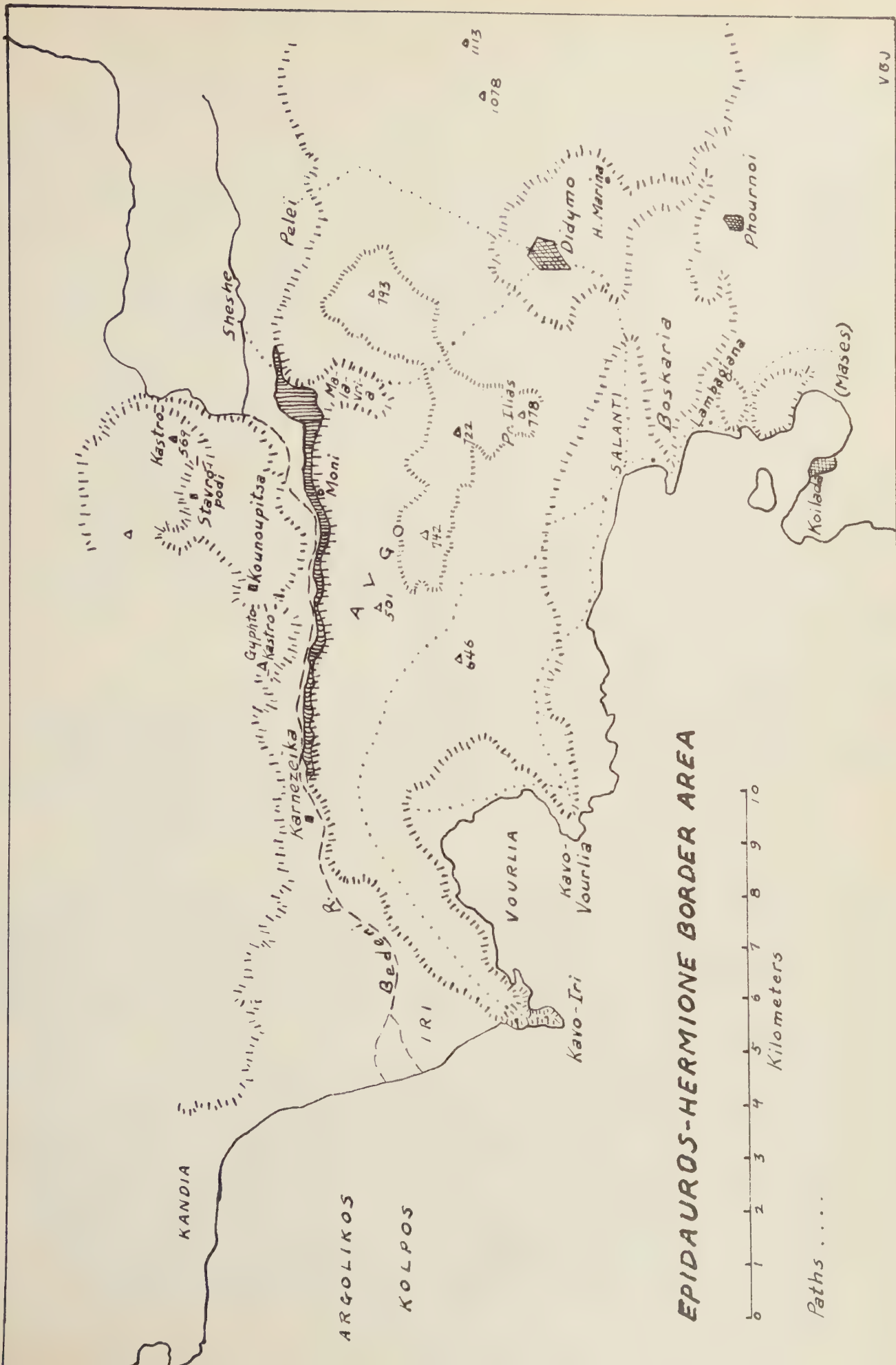
d. Bronze Fox from Rim of Mirror



PATRICIA NEILS BOULTER: AN AKROTERION FROM THE TEMPLE OF ARES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



PATRICIA NEILS BOULTER: AN AKROTERION FROM THE TEMPLE OF ARES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



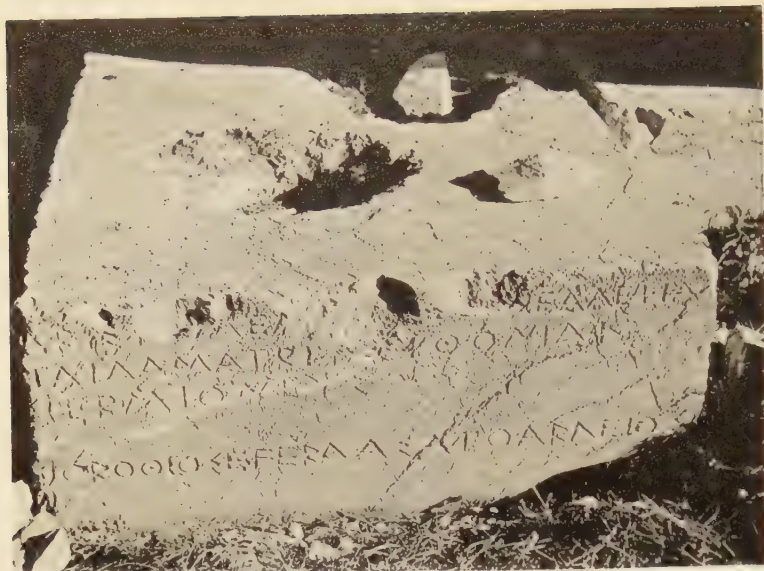
V 6 J

EPIDAUROS-HERMIONE BORDER AREA

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Kilometers

Paths

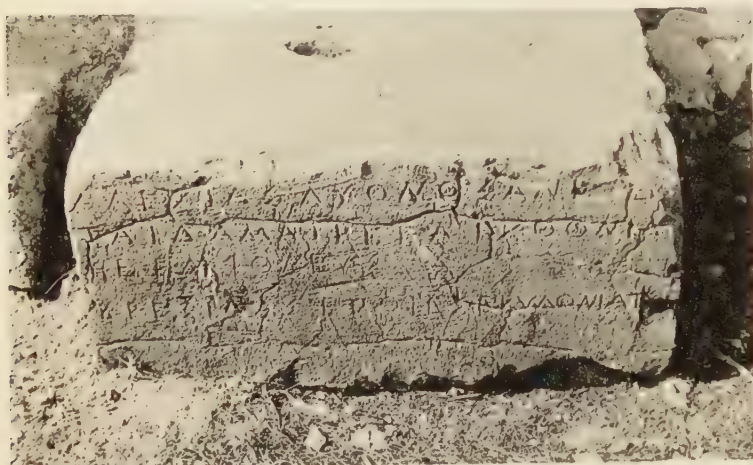
MICHAEL JAMESON: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESOS



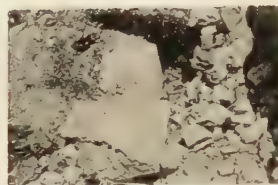
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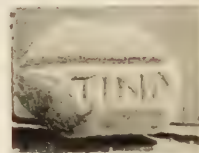
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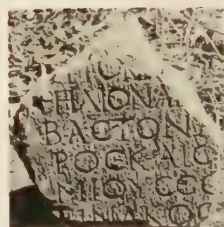
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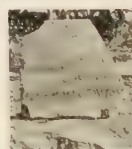
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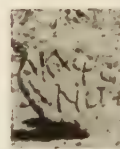
No. 3 (squeeze)



No. 9



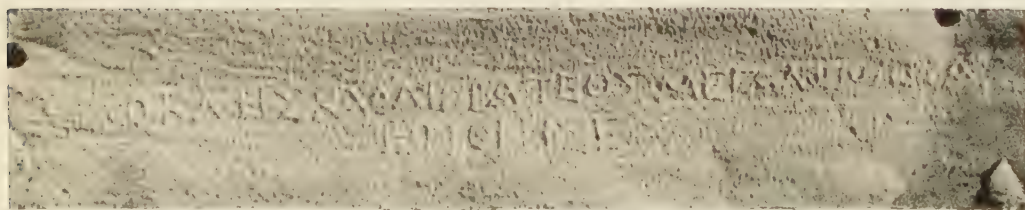
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No. 13



No. 14
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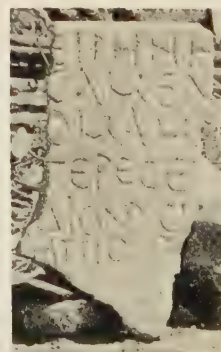


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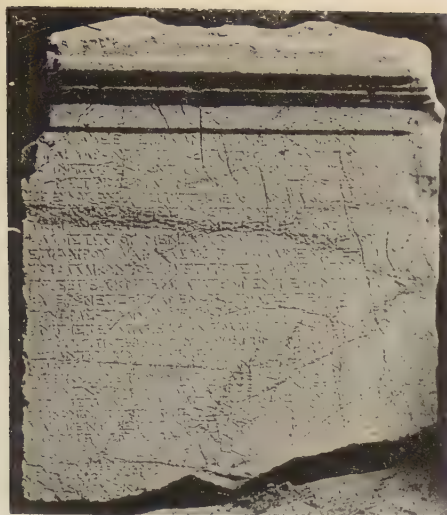


I. G., IV², 1, 701

Hermione



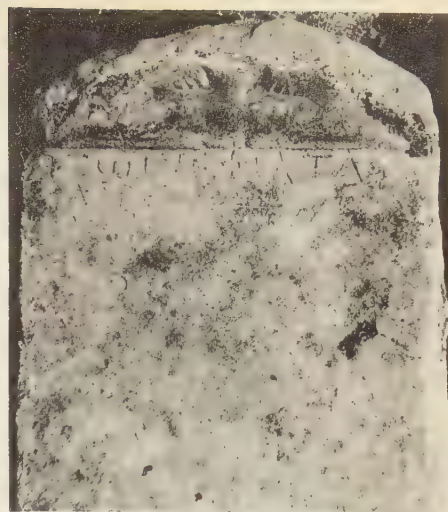
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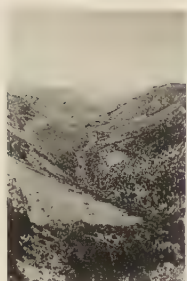
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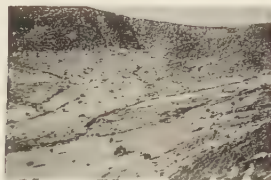
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a.



b.



c.



d.

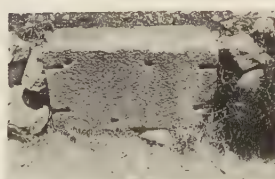


e.

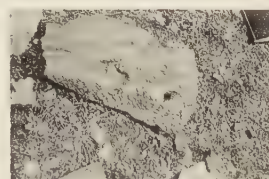
Hermione



I.



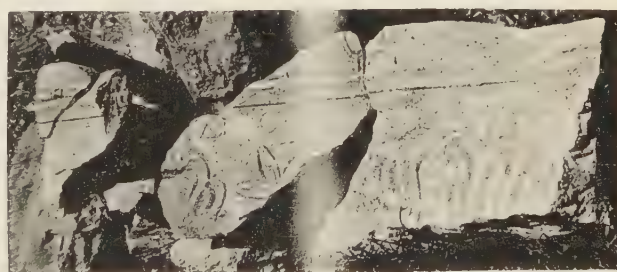
III.



f.



I.



II.



I.



IV.



III.

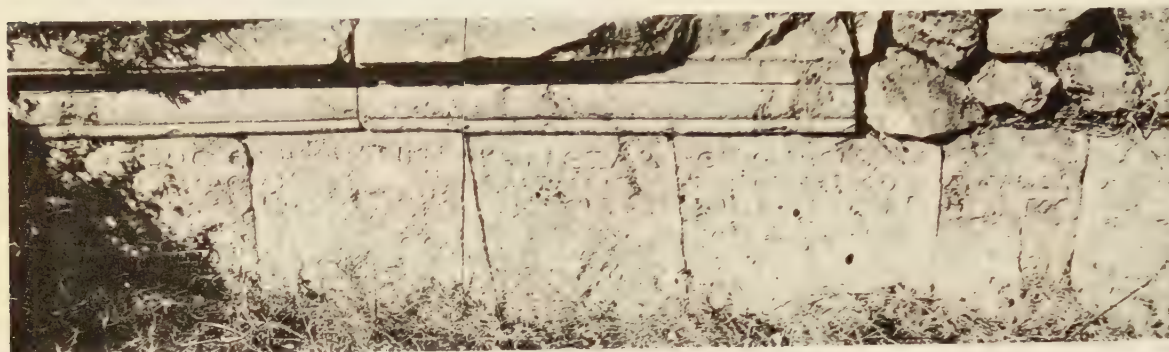
Zarax No. 17



a.



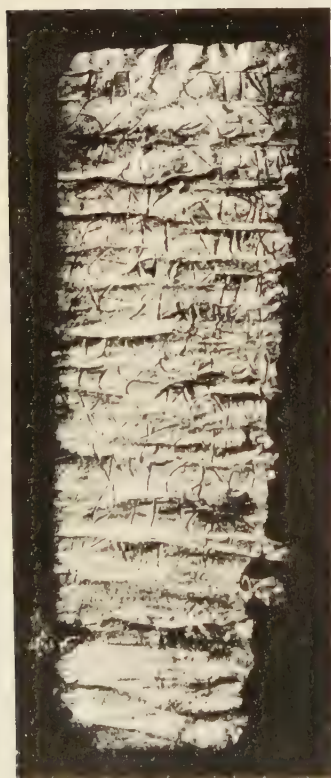
b.



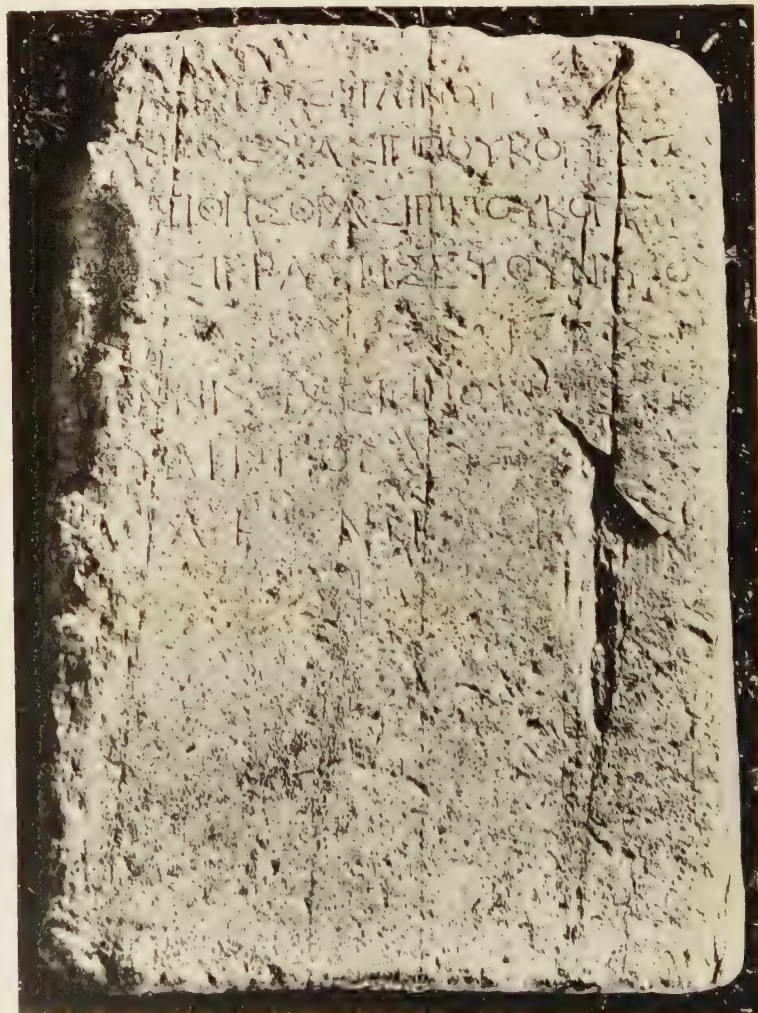
c.

Epidauros Limera

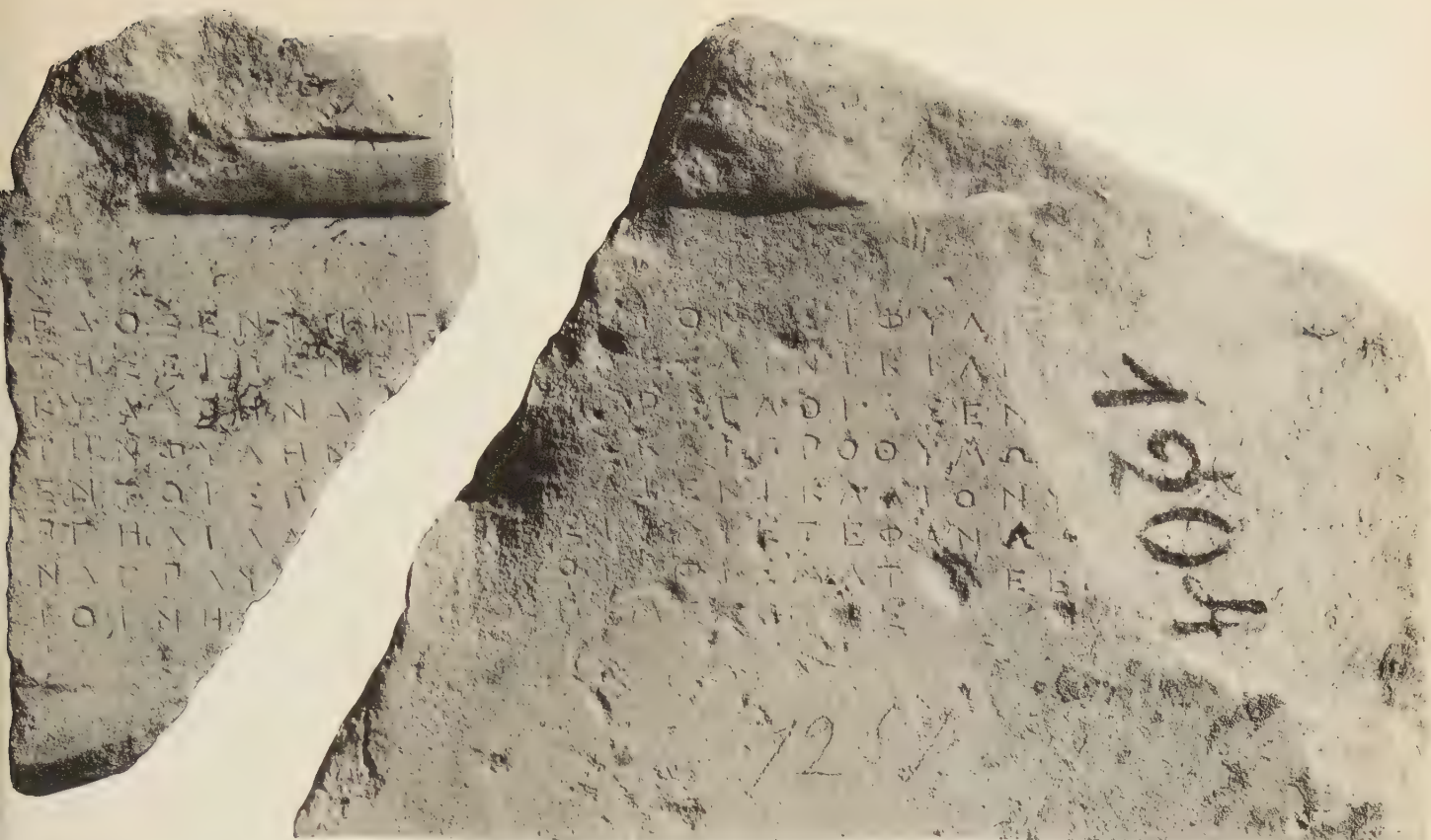
MICHAEL JAMESON: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESOS



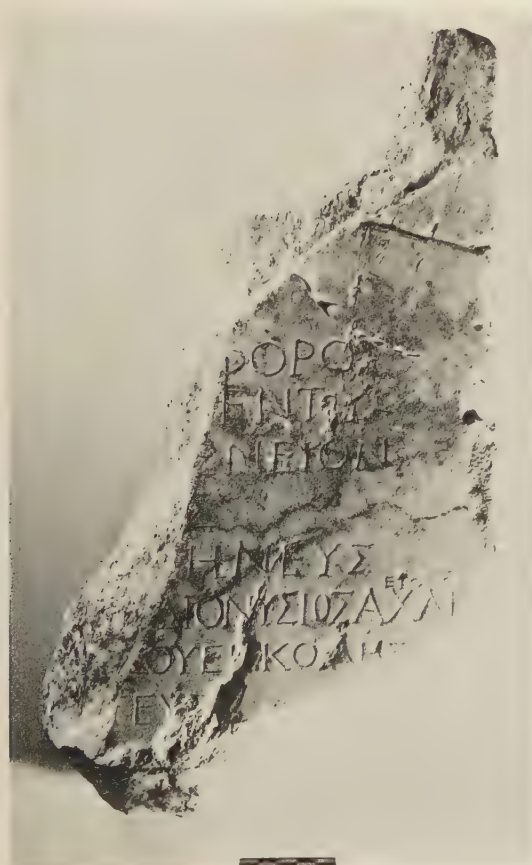
DAVID M. ROBINSON: A MAGICAL
INSCRIPTION FROM PISIDIAN ANTIOCH



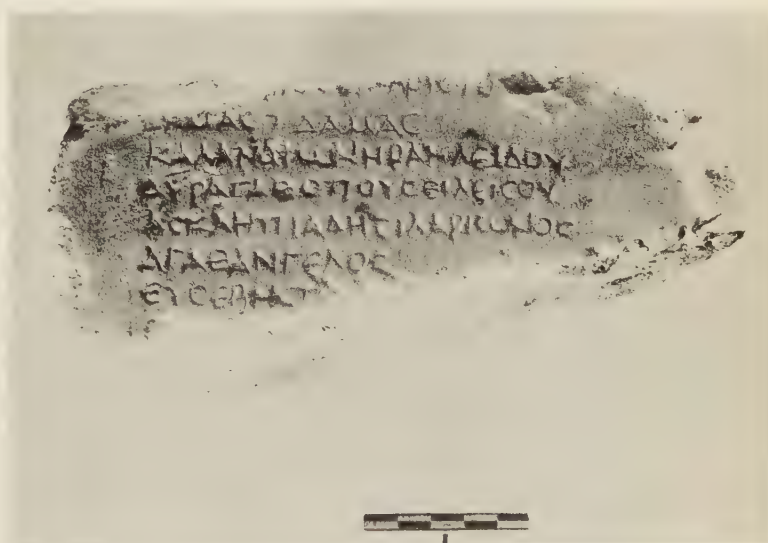
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE
LOCATION OF THE ATTIC DEME KOPROS



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



a. Isthmia from the North, the "Rache" in the Background



b. The Isthmian Wall, looking North

OSCAR BRONEER: ISTHMIA EXCAVATIONS, 1952



a. View of the Temple Site from the "Rache," Perachora in the Background



b. Long Trench through the Temple Area, from Northwest



c. Column Drum of Temple, Re-used in Justinian Fortress

OSCAR BRONEER: ISTHMIA EXCAVATIONS, 1952



a. Justinian Wall, Column Drum of Temple in Foreground



b. Foundations for North Cella Wall and Inner Colonnade



c. Foundation for East End of North Cella Wall



d. North Cella Wall, Details of Tooling



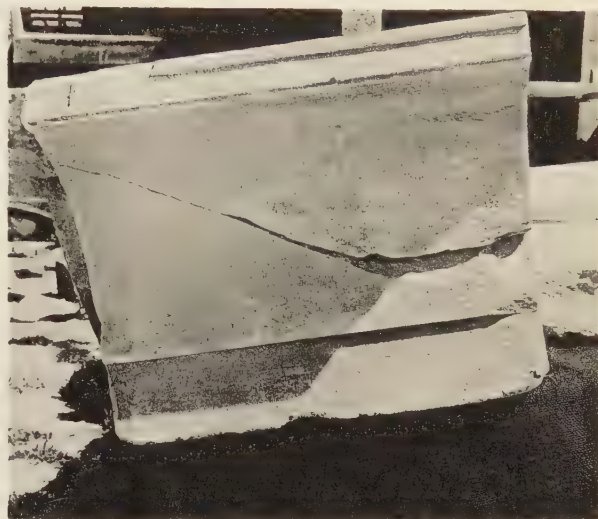
a. Foundation for Inner Colonnade, showing
Drafted Corners



b. Blocks from South Cella Wall



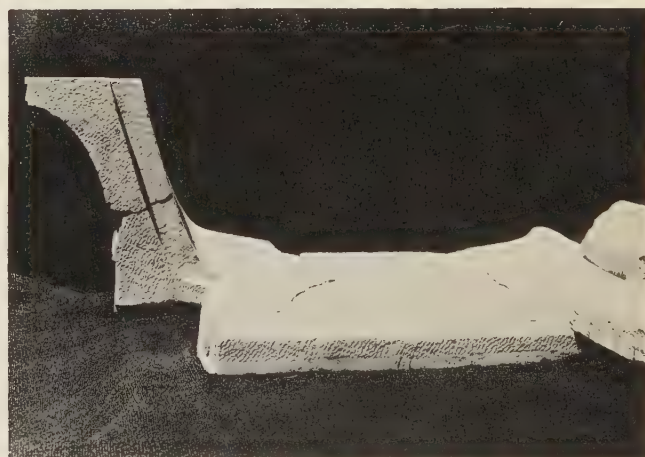
c. Fragment of Echinus from Column of Poseidon Temple



e. Raking Sima, Face



d. Guttae from Cornice of Temple



f. Raking Sima, Profile and Roof Tiles



a. Fragment of Lion Head Spout



b. Fragment of Horizontal Sima



c. Blocks with Rope Marks, Probably from Early Temple



d. Small Lion Heads from Sima of Roman Building



e. Fragments of Marble Frieze



f. Female Figure from Marble Frieze



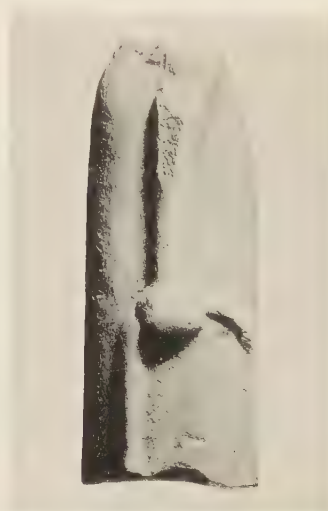
a. Front View of Colossal Statue in Corinth Museum



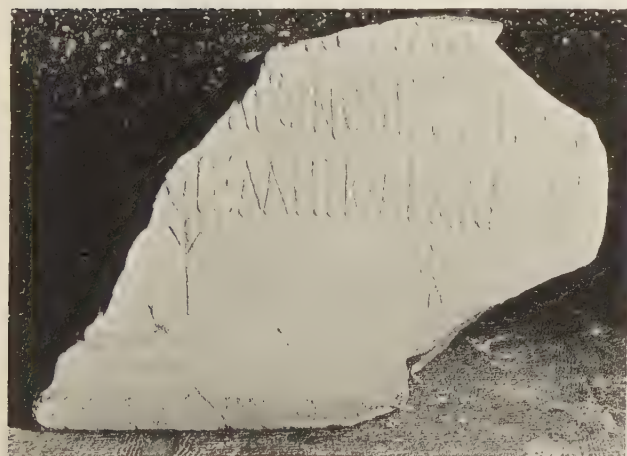
b. Rear and Side View of Colossal Statue



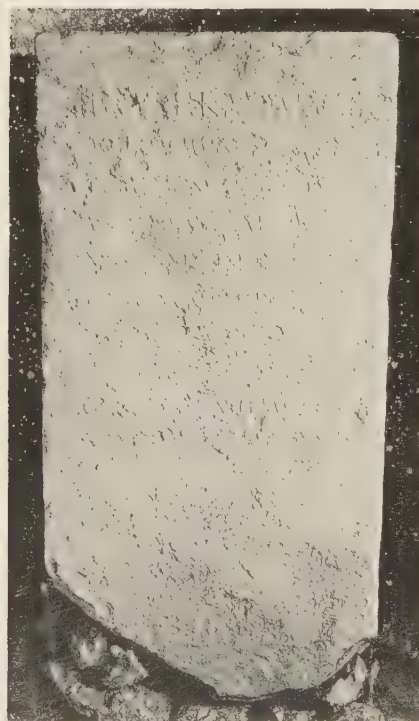
c. Colossal Statue of Goddess as found;
Foundation for SW Anta in Foreground



d. Part of Female Figure
of Xoanon Type



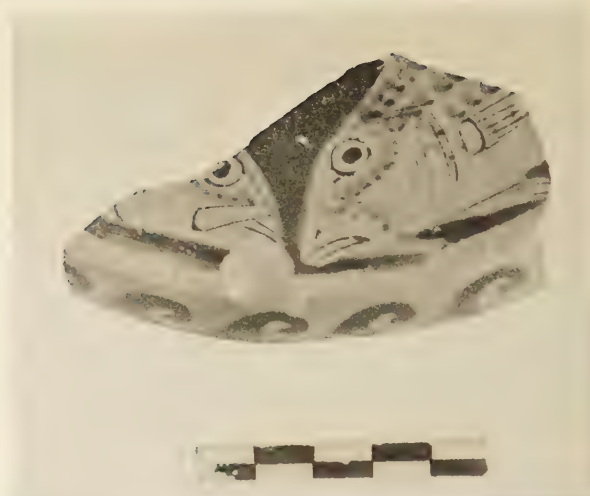
e. Fragment of Statue Base from Temple Site



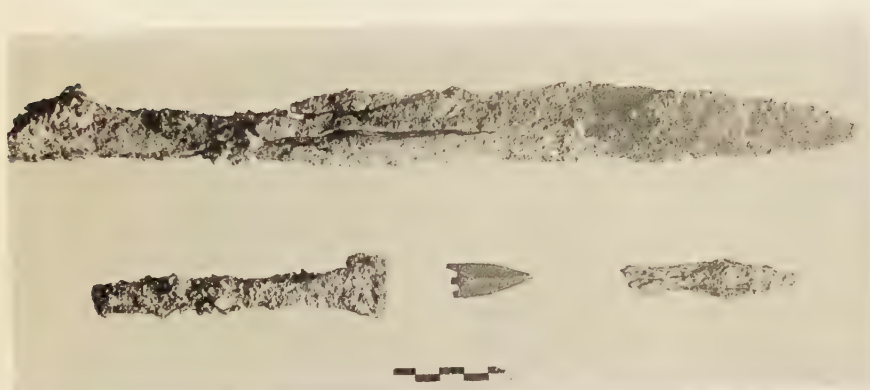
f. Inscription in Honor of the Poet
Themison of Miletos



a. Amphora Handle Stamped
with Name of Alkanor



b. Fragment of Red-figured Fish Plate



c. Spearpoints and Chisel of Iron, and Bronze Arrow-head



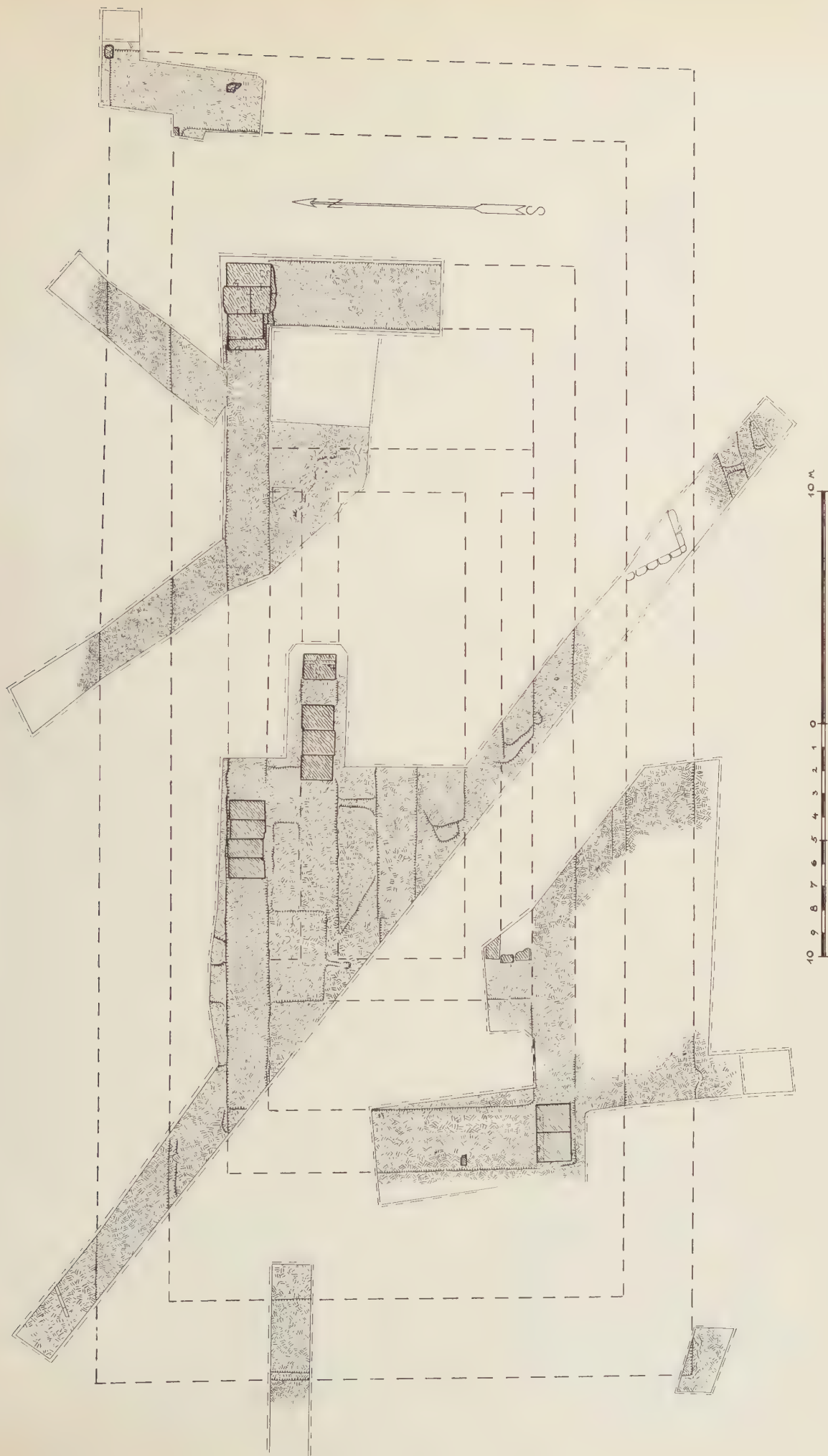
d. Gold Earring



e. Fragments of Bronze Bowls

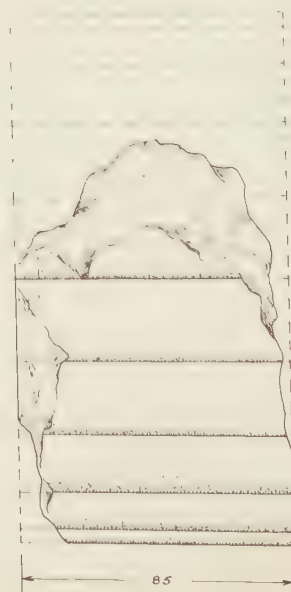
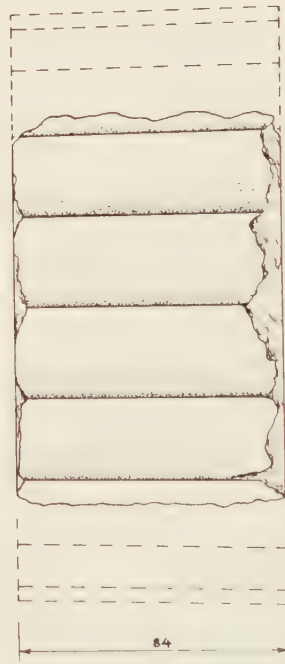
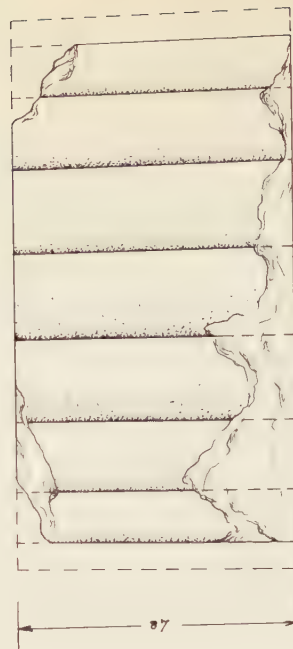
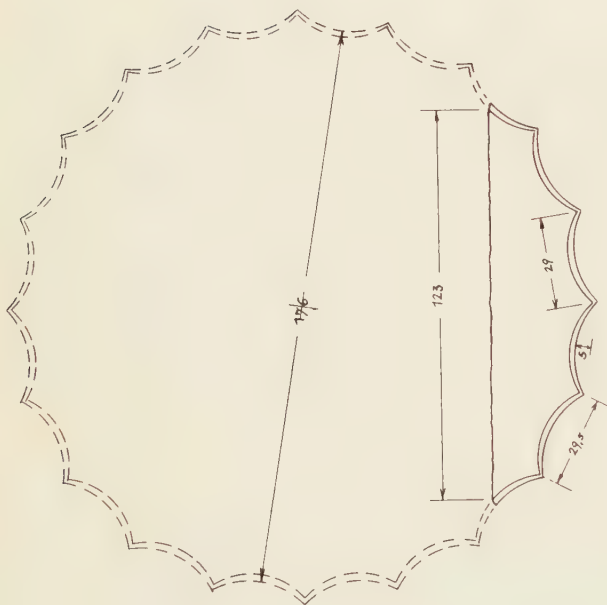
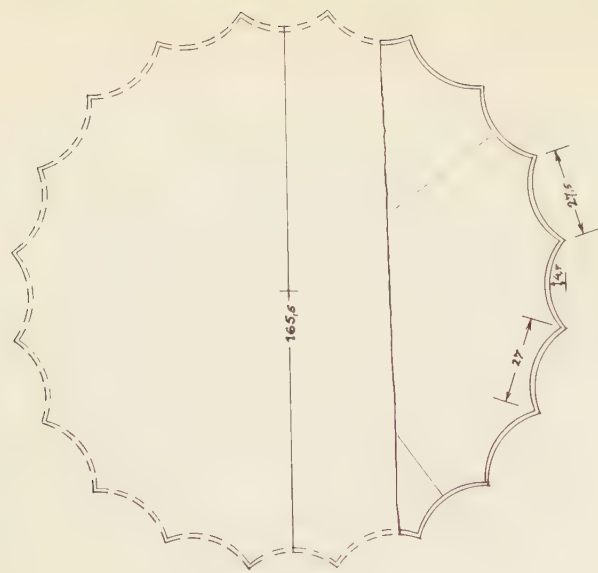


f. Fragment of Stone Halter



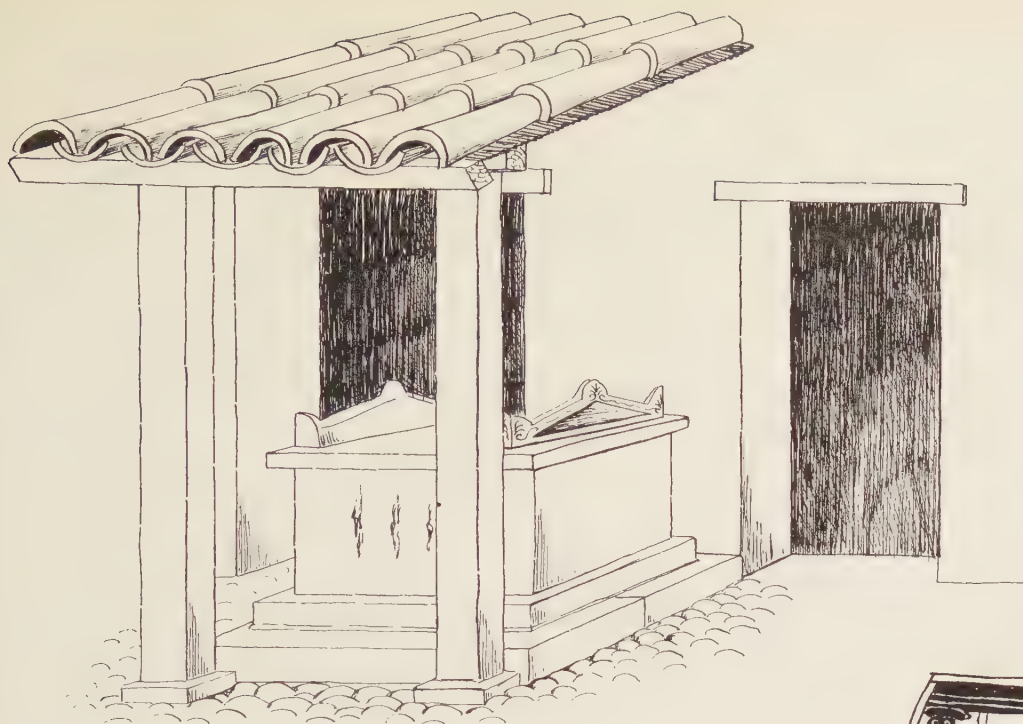
Plan of the Temple of Poseidon

OSCAR BRONEER: ISTHIA EXCAVATIONS, 1952

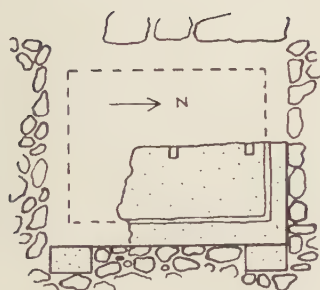


b. and c. Two Column Drums of Poseidon Temple, Re-used in Justinian Fortress

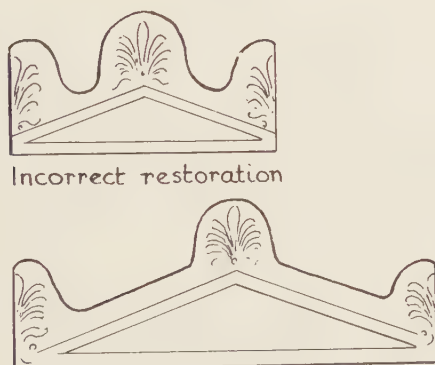
a. Column Drum found on Temple Site



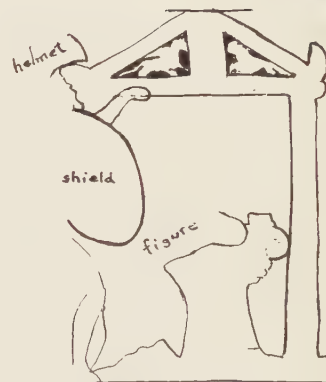
a. Restoration of the altar in House F-ii 9



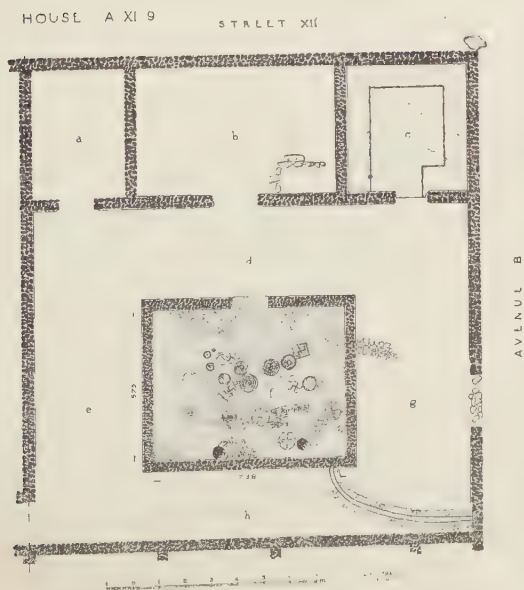
b. Plan of altar area in House F-ii 9



c. Altar pediment from House F-ii 9



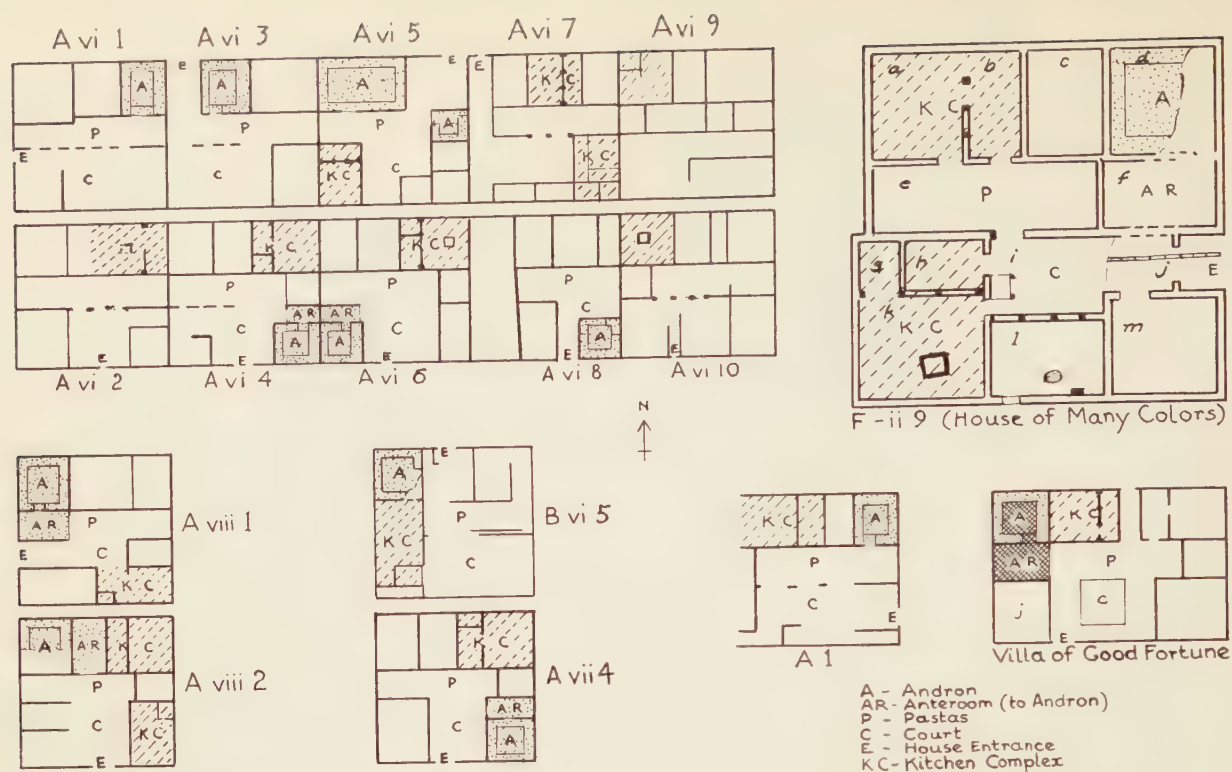
d. Altars from vase-paintings



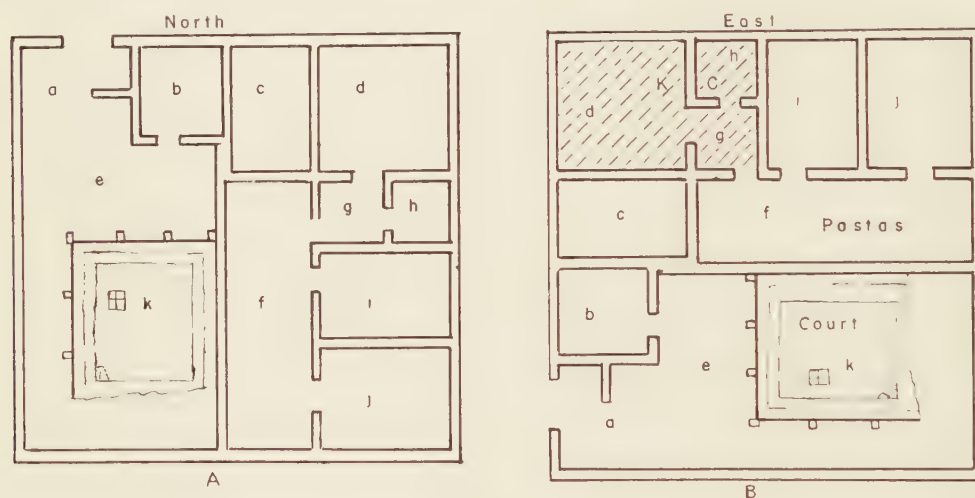
e. Plan of House A xi 9



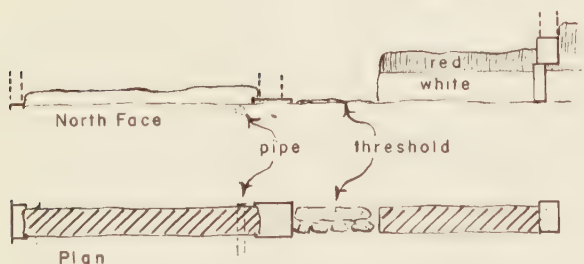
f. Plan of House A xi 10



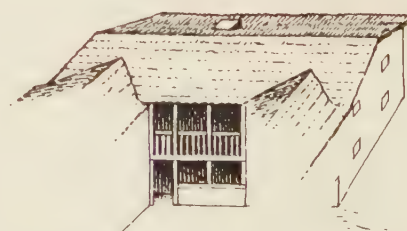
a. Sketch-plans of various Olynthian houses to illustrate location of androns and of kitchen-complexes



b. Plan of A viii 5 with two orientations



c. Sketches to indicate the nature of the wall between the pastas and the court in House A iv 9



d. Restored sketch of part of House F - ii 9 to illustrate the semi-enclosed pastas

A TERRACOTTA TETRAPOD DEDICATION AT CORINTH

(PLATE 65)

IN May, 1950, fragments of an unusual terracotta dedication were found in the South Stoa at Corinth.¹ Though perhaps not a thing of beauty, this offering deserves study because of its peculiarity. It is composed of a low two-stepped base supporting a Doric column, on which a lion-footed tetrapod rests (Pl. 65 a).

All the fragments but one were found together just above virgin soil (*ca.* 1.00 m. below toichobate level) between the front wall of Shop XXVI and the middle colonnade. The fact that these fragments were found together seems to indicate that they had been discarded at the same time. A piece of the terracotta abacus, to the top of which one of the lion's feet fitted, had been found a few days before in front of Shop XXV. In the hope of finding more fragments an investigation of the whole area was undertaken, but without success.

It was possible however, from the fragments found (Pl. 65 b), to make a reconstruction (Pl. 65 a), the details of which are certain, with two exceptions. The two uncertain details are: the exact height of the shaft, and the decoration of the saw-toothed rim at the places where the legs meet it.² The latter detail is of minor importance, and the restored height of the shaft (0.96 m.) must, to accommodate the preserved pieces, be approximately correct. The total height, as restored, is 1.35 m.

One piece of the base was found, preserving the profile of the base and traces of the column. The traces of the column indicated that this fragment was from the middle of one of the sides of the base. This made it possible to measure the distance from the edge of the column to the edge of the base; thus, indirectly, from the lower diameter of the column, the length of each side of the base (which was presumably square) could be computed. The base is 0.075 m. high and the length of each of its sides is *ca.* 0.49 m.

Several fragments of the column shaft were found, including one from the bottom and one from the top. Some of these joined, showing that the diameter of the

¹ Inv. MF 9500. First published by O. Broneer in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 296, pl. 94 a. The author is most indebted to Professor Broneer for his assistance throughout the preparation of this article. The author also wishes to thank Marian Welker, Chrysoula Kardaras and Professors Franklin P. Johnson and John L. Caskey for their many helpful suggestions. Gorham P. Stevens, Honorary Architect of the School, reconstructed the dedication on paper, and George Kachros, Guard of the Museum, assembled it.

² For the various possibilities here see the small tripod stands listed in H. Payne *et al.*, *Pera-chora*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 166 f.

column at 0.11 m. above the base, must be *ca.* 0.37 m., and that the upper diameter of the column must be *ca.* 0.28 m. The column has sixteen flutes, which are irregular in width; e. g., the three preserved near the bottom have the widths 0.081 m., 0.082 m., and 0.085 m. There are three fillets at the top of the shaft.

One piece of the echinus, one of the echinus and abacus, and several from the top of the abacus were found. The height of the echinus is *ca.* 0.085 m.; the greatest diameter of the echinus is *ca.* 0.44 m. (there is great variation in the profile). Of the abacus the height is *ca.* 0.066 m., the diagonal *ca.* 0.68 m., and the side length *ca.* 0.48 m. The raised foothold preserved in the corner of the top of the abacus for one of the lion's paws is *ca.* 0.09 m. in diameter and *ca.* 0.013 m. high.

The lower outer diameter of the hollow ringed drum on top of the abacus is *ca.* 0.27 m. Because of the shape and size of the lion's feet, the front of each foot must rest on the abacus more than 0.13 m. out from the hollow ringed drum. Since one of the lion's feet rested on the corner of the abacus, a careful consideration of these last six measurements showed the restorers the necessity of adding a fourth foot to the three which were found, so that a lion's foot would rest on each corner of the abacus.³ The height of the ringed drum is *ca.* 0.19 m. The preserved heights of the lion's paws are 0.145 m., 0.155 m., and 0.133 m. The saw-toothed rim, of which two pieces were found, is 0.077 m. high, and its upper diameter is 0.39 m.

The clay is Corinthian. Its texture is rather coarse and gritty, and its color is gray on the inside, pink toward the surface. On the exterior a smoother pink slip was applied. The base has a greenish tint.

The dedication was made in parts which were modeled separately: 1. the base and shaft; 2. the echinus and outer edge of the abacus; 3. the top of the abacus with raised footholds for the lion's paws; 4. the ringed drum and saw-toothed rim; 5. the lion's paws. After these had been fitted together they were covered with a slip and baked.

The interior of the entire dedication is hollow; this hollow has the form of a truncated cone, tapering from 0.31 m. in diameter at the base to 0.19 m. at the top. The interior surface and the upper concave surface of the saw-toothed rim were left rough. From the fact that a slip was not applied to the upper surface of the rim it may be inferred that this upper surface was not intended to be seen, and from its concavity that it supported a dinos rather than a shallow bowl, the two vessels usually placed on low tripod stands.⁴

When one approaches the problem of dating, parallels to the various parts of

³ A terracotta lion's foot (MF 8046) was found in 1935 near Shop XIV of the South Stoa, but it is too small to have belonged with the other three. Its clay and technique are similar, however. Whether it belonged to a dedication is a matter for speculation. The same may be said of the Doric capital found in the Potters' Quarter (*Corinth*, XV, i, pp. 67-70).

⁴ *Perachora*, p. 167.

this dedication turn out to be of little help. For example, the profile of the echinus is so irregular that it may only be said that its rounded profile points to the sixth century B. C. The published bronze tripod stands are still too few in number,⁵ and of these too few are dated, to permit the formulation of a chronology of their stylistic development. Close parallels to our tetrapod are two bronze tripod stands from Dodona,⁶ but these are undated.

The fragments were found in an unmixed, but evidently not undisturbed, deposit of Corinthian sherds extending from 0.65 m. to 1.00 m. below toichobate level. From a consideration of these sherds it is possible to reach a more exact date for our dedication:

EARLY CORINTHIAN (625-600 B. C.):

1. C-50-6. Alabastron (Pl. 65).

H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.045 m. Buff clay; brown bands around the body and brown vertical bars around the neck. Rim and part of neck and handle missing.

For shape, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 284, no. 377; for decoration, see Dugas, *Délos*, X, pl. 28, nos. 376 and 377.

2. C-50-38. Fragmentary lower part of Conical Oinochoe (Pl. 65).

Diam. 0.075 m. Pinkish clay with black-streaked red glaze; reserved band at base which is filled with rays.

Cf. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 58, no. 200, pl. 28, and *Necrocorinthia*, p. 299, fig. 136.

3. C-50-41. Fragment of neck of Oinochoe (Pl. 65).

Pres. H. 0.045 m. Yellowish buff clay; decoration in black, purple, and buff.

Cf. *Necrocorinthia*, p. 298, nos. 725 ff.

MIDDLE AND LATE CORINTHIAN I (600-550 B.C.):

4. C-50-5. Column Krater (Pl. 65).

Pres. H. 0.116 m.; max. diam. pres. 0.355 m.; W. across handle plates 0.35 m.

Buff clay; decoration in black and purple.

Fragments from rim and handle (published in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 296, pl. 93 e) and from shoulder, which had an upper band of padded dancers, griffon, cocks and snakes, with a bearded male protome beneath the handle, and animals in the lower band.

Both Middle and Late Corinthian had zigzags on the rim, see *Necrocorinthia*, p. 301; because there is no red slip, this fragment is more probably Middle than Late. For subjects, see *Necrocorinthia*, p. 317, no. 1177 A (Louvre E 617, unpublished) which has padded dancers, cocks, snake, an eagle under handles, and in the lower band panthers, goats, and eagles.

5. C-50-3. Fragment of plate-handle and rim of Column Krater (Pl. 65).

Pres. H. 0.034 m.; inner diam. at rim 0.185 m. Yellow clay; decoration in black and purple.

Because of zigzags and absence of red slip this fragment is more likely Middle than Late; cf. C-50-5 *supra*.

6. C-50-10. Fragment of body of Column Krater (Pl. 65).

Pres. H. 0.14 m.; pres. W. 0.16 m. Yellow clay; decoration in black and purple.

Bands of panthers and goats are frequent in Late Corinthian; cf. *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 328 f., nos. 1452, 1455 ff.

⁵ See note 2 for references.

⁶ C. Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. 41, nos. 1 and 2.

7. C-50-32. Fragmentary Oinochoe (Pl. 65).

Pres. H. 0.175 m.; max. diam. ca. 0.155 m. Light buff clay; decoration in brown and purple limited to front of upper panel.

For general type see *Corinth*, VII, i, pp. 62 f., no. 231, where further bibliography is given.

8. C-50-37. Fragmentary Oinochoe (Pl. 65).

Preserved: base and part of one side up to neck. Diam. of base 0.115 m. Light buff clay; decoration in black and purple.

For shape see C-50-32 *supra*; for face cf. Heidelberg amphora, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 316, no. 1154, pl. 35.3; see also Dohan in *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 526 f.

9. C-50-33. Fragmentary Oinochoe (Pl. 65).

Greater part of shoulder and mouth, and part of double-rolled handle, preserved.

Pres. H. 0.17 m.; max. diam. 0.165 m. Buff

clay; black glaze and purple.

Late Corinthian I; cf. *Necrocorinthia*, p. 33, fig. 10, H, and *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 81, no. 371.

UNCERTAIN

10. C-50-35. Amphora (or Hydria ?) (Pl. 65).

a). Pres. H. 0.13 m.; max. diam. ca. 0.16 m.

b) Pres. H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.115 m. Red micaceous clay; buff slip on outside; decoration in reddish brown.

Similar to "Pre-Persian" ware at Olynthos and to "Late Ionian"; see *Olynthus*, V, pls. 32 and 41, and F. P. Johnson's review in *C.P.*, XXX, 1935, pp. 177-79; also Sieveking and Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, 1912, pl. 17. It is to be dated probably to the second half of the sixth century, perhaps even as late as 500 B. C.

The greater number of these sherds are from the first half of the sixth century (Middle and Late Corinthian I), with a few from the last quarter of the seventh century (Early Corinthian), and one (C-50-35) from some undetermined later date. Because there was no intrusion of sherds from other periods (elsewhere in the South Stoa terrace the fill contains sherds ranging from prehistoric to late red-figure), it seems reasonable to suppose that the terracotta votive offering belonged to this fill, and that it may therefore most probably be dated to the first half of the sixth century. This fill may have been disturbed either when the stoa was built, or in Byzantine times. This later disturbance of the fill may also account for the presence of a fragment in front of Shop XXV and the total disappearance of the other pieces.

It has been assumed thus far that the terracotta column and tetrapod were a dedication, and there can be little doubt of their votive character. Besides being found in graves, as at Trebenischte, low bronze tripod stands have been found at many sanctuaries⁷—Olympia, Delphi, the Idean Cave, the Athenian Acropolis, Perachora, and Dodona, where one bore a dedicatory inscription.⁸ Dinos, too, served as dedications.⁹ According to a recent study of dedications, "The earliest examples of statues set up as dedications (or as tomb monuments) on high columns belong to the beginning of the sixth century."¹⁰ At Athens in the second quarter of the sixth century a

⁷ See *Perachora*, pp. 166 f. for references.

⁸ *Dodone*, pl. 23, no. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 23, no. 1.

¹⁰ A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 3.

bronze bowl seems to have been placed on top of a column.¹¹ Tripods on columns appear in vase painting of the fifth century,¹² though evidently not before.

From at least the second quarter of the eighth century on, the large tripod cauldron had been the favored tripod dedication.¹³ In the early sixth century a poros or marble Doric column was added as a central support for the cauldron.¹⁴ Roughly contemporary with this introduction of the central supporting column, or perhaps slightly antedating it, and hence perhaps suggesting it, was the custom of setting up statues and other *valuable* dedications on columns.

It is quite understandable that someone who could not afford the rich man's large tripod-cauldron but was ill-content with the poorer man's low tripod stand should conceive of placing the latter on top of a Doric column. But ostentation did not stop here. Another man, equally pretentious, but of even more limited means, seeing his neighbor's dedication, had the whole thing done in terracotta, the remains of which are now plastered together in the Corinth Museum.

This explanation assumes that the terracotta dedication which we have was copied from an original consisting of a stone column and a bronze tetrapod stand, for which there is no material evidence. In the technique of the terracotta itself, however, there is tangible evidence on which to base this assumption. The tetrapod has the sharp edges and incised lines of bronze work, and there is no painted decoration, a fact which would be difficult to account for if the tetrapod had been originally conceived as a terracotta work. Here it might be mentioned that the dinos which the terracotta dedication presumably supported was also of terracotta rather than of bronze, as was suggested in the preliminary report.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, however, the dinos of the prototype was of metal.

That the terracotta imitation was also a dedication seems likely in view of other terracotta imitations used as votive offerings: shields¹⁶ and altars¹⁷ from later in the century, and the building models at Perachora¹⁸ and the Argive Heraeum¹⁹ from an earlier period. In addition, there is the passage of Pausanias (IV, 12, 7-10) which says that toward the end of the first Messenian War (724 B. C.) the oracle at Delphi

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 337, no. 318.

¹² P. Guillon, *Les trépieds du Ptoion*, Paris, 1943, II, p. 24.

¹³ S. Benton, "The Tripod-Lebes," *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 114 f.

¹⁴ The series of such dedications at Ptöon begins about the middle of the sixth century, Guillon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 68. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 337, no. 317, furnishes an example in Athens from the second quarter of the century.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 296.

¹⁶ G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, Princeton, 1952, pp. 335 ff.; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Princeton, 1952, pp. 216-231.

¹⁷ O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 375.

¹⁸ *Perachora*, pp. 34 ff.

¹⁹ K. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVIII, 1923, pp. 52 ff.; Oikonomos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1931, pp. 1 ff.

told the Messenians that whichever side first dedicated a hundred tripods to Zeus of Ithome would have possession of the Messenian land. The Messenians, *because they did not have enough money for bronze*, set about making wooden tripods. When the Spartans heard of the oracle, Oibalos made a hundred tripods of *clay*, put them in a bag, entered Ithome, and dedicated them to the god at night. The Pythian prediction was fulfilled, and the fulfilment proved that terracotta was as acceptable to the god as bronze.

The Messenians and Spartans turned to substitute materials because bronze was too costly. Miss Benton has conjectured that there was a lack of metal at this time: "Phlegon says that crowns were first given in 748 B. C. [at Olympia], implying that prizes were given from 776-48 B. C. . . . Tripods of this kind may have been given elsewhere for a time, but something killed the industry. It may be that a lack of metal was the underlying cause for the substitution of crowns."²⁰ This conjectured shortage of metal tends to confirm the supposition that both the prototype of our terracotta offering and the imitation itself were the result of attempts to economize.

Finally, there are peculiarities in the form of this terracotta dedication which deserve to be examined. The ringed drum was probably not part of the original, but was added to the terracotta version to give extra support to the dinos.²¹ Whether the fourth leg was added by the potter for extra support cannot be known, since the bronze original has not been found, but it seems unlikely that the potter found it necessary to add both. Therefore the more likely assumption is that the bronze original also had four legs to lend it an appearance of greater balance and symmetry on the square top surface of the abacus.

From the rarity,²² if not uniqueness, of this combination of tetrapod and column it is safe to conclude that the experiment did not meet with widespread approval. Reasons for this are not hard to find. The comic poet Epicharmos (in Athenaeus II, 49c) gives us an insight into the Greek sense of the inherent absurdity of a four-footed tripod:

Α. τί δὲ τόδ' ἐστί; Β. δηλαδὴ τρίπους. Α. τί μὰν ἔχει πόδας τέτορας; οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους, ἀλλ' <ἐστὶν> οἶμαι τετράπους. Β. ἐστὶ δ' ὄνομ' αὐτῷ τρίπους, τέτορας γὰρ μὰν ἔχει πόδας.

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²⁰ Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

²¹ A similar, though more conical and much larger, hollow ringed drum (*B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 132) seems unrelated in function to ours.

²² Assuming that the other lion's foot and the Doric capital mentioned in note 3 did actually belong to similar dedications.

ΚΑΤΑΠΥΓΩΝ, ΚΑΤΑΠΥΓΑΙΝΑ *

(PLATE 66)

WHEN in the spring of 1953 an Attic black-figured neck-amphora in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (41.162.32; *C.V.A.* Gallatin Collection, pl. 2, 9 and 11; Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* 1953, pl. 38, fig. f) was cleaned, the following graffito came to light again under the handle between panels A and B: ΑΝΘΥΛΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΥΛΛΑΙΝΑ. The beginning of the graffito can be seen in *C.V.A.* pl. 2, 9. The text states, "One handle and black surface damaged in part," and the restorations which obscured the graffito must have been applied after the vase was photographed for the first Gallatin fascicule. A new view of the surface is shown here in Pl. 66 a.

Anthyle is known from two black-figured vases as a feminine love-name, followed by *καλή* (London B 333, *C.V.A.* III H e pl. 90, 1, and pl. 91, 3; Würzburg 304, Langlotz, pls. 94 and 97). The neck-amphora in New York is perhaps somewhat earlier than the two hydriai in London and Würzburg, and it is not certain whether the graffito refers to the Anthyle who is praised on the hydriai. The name is formed with the suffix *-υλᾱ*, the feminine of *-υλος*, and hence is a different name from Anthylla, which is formed with *-υλλᾱ*. Anthylla, spelled with one λ, occurs on the black-figured band-cup Munich 2243 (Furtwängler and Reichhold, pl. 153, 1) among the Athenian maidens in a picture of Theseus and the Minotaur, and, with *καλή*, on the same hydria in Würzburg on which Anthyle appears. It is also found in a fourth-century funerary inscription in Athens (*I.G.* II-III², no 5758) and as the name of a farmer's wife in Alciphron (iii. 33).

* We wish to express our gratitude to Professor Eugene Vanderpool for permission to include in the present article four hitherto unpublished graffiti from the Athenian Agora, to Miss Lucy Talcott and the Editor of *Hesperia*, Miss Lucy Shoe, for transmitting to us the text and Mr. Vanderpool's description of these graffiti, to the Director of the Agora Excavations, Professor Homer Thompson, for suggesting that we publish facsimiles and to Mr. Vanderpool for procuring them for us, and to the members of the Publications Committee for advice, in particular to Professor Harold Cherniss, who pointed out that in footnote 4 we had omitted to mention the lexicographical evidence for *καταπύγων* as a feminine.

¹ Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen*, p. 5. The distinction was neglected by Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*², p. 44, Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* II, p. 194, and *C.V.A., British Museum*, fasc. 3, p. 9, and Robinson and Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names*, p. 52. On these suffixes see Chantraine, *La Formation des noms en grec ancien*, pp. 250, 252; Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* I, pp. 485, 475; and the article by M. Leumann, *Glotta*, XXXII, 1953, pp. 214-225, to which Sir John Beazley called our attention. *-υλλᾱ* is usually explained as a combination of *-υλ* and *-yᾱ*, but Leumann suggests that it was a vocative form (cf. *νύμφᾱ*, *δέσποτᾱ*) of affectionate address with hypocoristic consonant-lengthening; its assumption of the functions of a nominative was secondary.

The form *καταπύγαινα* has not been encountered before. It was unknown to the Byzantine grammarian Choeroboscus, as we see from one of his comments on the following canon of Theodosius: “ὁ Θέων τοῦ Θέωνος, ὁ σῶφρων τοῦ σῶφρονος, ὁ λέων τοῦ λέοντος: Barytone masculines in *ων*, if paronymous, are declined with *ω*, Θέωνος, Ἰέρωνος, Δίωνος; those whose gender is common are declined with *ο*, as for example γείτονος, σῶφρονος; but those with a feminine in *αινα* are declined with *ντ*, as for example δράκων δράκοντος because of δράκαινα, θεράπων θεράποντος because of θεράπαινα.”² Choeroboscus remarks, à propos of those with feminines in *αινα*, “We note as an exception to this rule Λάκων Λάκωνος. For this word, though it has a feminine in *αινα*, Λάκαινα, is not declined with *ντ*, for we do not say Λάκοντος but Λάκωνος with *ω*. . . . But let us not think that γείτων and τέκτων are contrary to the rule because they have feminines in *αινα*, γείταινα and τέκταινα, and are not declined with *ντ*, for (we say) γείτονος and τέκτονος. For these words, one must know, are of common gender, ὁ γείτων and ἡ γείτων, ὁ τέκτων and ἡ τέκτων. But the poets, in addition, make paronymous forms of them in *αινα*, γείταινα and τέκταινα, γίνεό μοι τέκταινα βίου δαμάτειρά τε λιμοῦ (Callimachus, frag. 267 Pfeiffer), just as θέαινα is formed paronymously from Θέων.”³

Obviously Choeroboscus’ purpose is to complete Theodosius’s rule on barytone masculines in *-ων* with feminines in *-αινα* by listing all real or seeming exceptions to it; he cannot, therefore, have known *καταπύγαινα*. The ninth-century grammarian Theognostus, furthermore, in Canon 174 states, “Words in *γων* of more than two syllables, if they are simple and barytone and are not participles, are declined with *ω* as for example Σαλάγγωνος, the name of a river . . . καταπύγων καταπύγονος, ἐγκύμων ἐγκύμονος and ἀσχήμων ἀσχήμονος and such, though they change the *ω* are not contrary to the rule, since they are formed from compounds and are of common gender. For (we have) κατάπυγος and καταπύγων and again ὁ καταπύγων and ἡ καταπύγων . . .”⁴

² A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* IV, 1, pp. 19-20: Ἐνικά. ὁ Θέων τοῦ Θέωνος, ὁ σῶφρων τοῦ σῶφρονος, ὁ λέων τοῦ λέοντος· τῶν εἰς *ων* ἀρσενικῶν βαρυτόνων τὰ μὲν παρώνυμα διὰ τοῦ *ω* κλίνεται, Θέωνος, Ἰέρωνος, Δίωνος, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῷ γένει διὰ τοῦ *ο*, οἷον γείτονος, σῶφρονος, τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα θηλυκὸν διὰ τοῦ *αινα* διὰ τοῦ *ντ*, οἷον δράκων δράκοντος ὅτι δράκαινα, θεράπων θεράποντος ὅτι θεράπαινα κτλ.

³ Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* IV, 1, p. 275: Σημειούμεθα δὲ ἐν τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ τὸ Λάκων Λάκωνος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχον θηλυκὸν διὰ τοῦ *αινα* οἷον Λάκαινα οὐ κλίνεται διὰ τοῦ *ντ*, οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγομεν Λάκοντος ἀλλὰ Λάκωνος διὰ τοῦ *ω*. . . Μὴ νομίσωμεν δὲ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ κανόνι τὸ γείτων καὶ τέκτων, ὅτι ἔχουσι θηλυκὸν διὰ τοῦ *αινα*, οἷον γείταινα καὶ τέκταινα, καὶ οὐ κλίνονται διὰ τοῦ *ντ*, γείτονος γὰρ καὶ τέκτονος. Ἰστέον γὰρ ὅτι ταῦτα κοινὰ εἰσι τῷ γένει, οἷον ὁ γείτων καὶ ἡ γείτων, ὁ τέκτων καὶ ἡ τέκτων· ἀλλ’ οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ παρωνύμως ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ *αινα* οἷον γείταινα καὶ τέκταινα, γίνεό μοι τέκταινα βίου δαμάτειρά τε λιμοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θέων γέγονε θέαινα παρωνύμως. The explanation here given of θέαινα is of course wrong. On this form see Chantraine and Meillet and Schwyzler in the passage cited below, note 8.

⁴ Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* II, p. 31: Τὰ εἰς *γων* ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλὰ βαρύτονα, μὴ ὄντα μετοχικὰ διὰ τοῦ *ντ* κλίνεται καὶ τρέπει τὸ *ω* καὶ διὰ τοῦ *ω* μεγάλου γράφεται τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἷον Σαλάγγωνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ . . . τὸ καταπύγων καταπύγονος καὶ ἐγκύμων ἐγκύμονος καὶ ἀσχήμων ἀσχήμονος καὶ εἴτι τούτοις ὅμοιον τρέποντα τὸ *ω* οὐκ ἀντίκεινται, παρὰ σύνθετα γὰρ καὶ κοινὰ τῷ γένει· κατάπυγος γὰρ καὶ καταπύγων· καὶ αὐτὶς ὁ καταπύγων καὶ ἡ καταπύγων· κύμα ἔγκυμος, ὁ ἐγκύμων ἡ ἐγκύμων.

Σαλάγγωνος is the MS reading in line 2, according to R. Schneider, *Bodleiana*, p. 10. A marginal

Choeroboscus's chief sources were the works of Apollonius Dyscolus and his son Herodian, the two great grammarians of the second century after Christ, and Herodian's *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας* was the source of Theognostus's *Canones*. Therefore we may conclude that Apollonius and Herodian did not know the form *καταπύγαινα* and did know of the use of *καταπύγων* in the feminine.

We have not found an example of this use, in spite of the fact that the imputation, as every reader of the classics knows, was one from which women were not exempt in antiquity. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* calls women a *παγκατάπυγον γένος* (137), Cratinus says that *Καταπυγοσύνη* gave birth to Aspasia (frag. 53), and Sophron uses a feminine comparative (frag. 63, *καταπυγοτέραν τ' ἀλφηστᾶν*), but nowhere in extant literature, so far at least as we know, is *καταπύγων* itself used in the feminine. An Attic graffito of the third quarter of the fifth century B. C. stops just before the crucial termination (Pl. 66 b; see below, p. 220). We have, however, no reason to doubt Herodian's statement. What interests us is the date of this use.

καταπύγων appears in extant literature in Aristophanes (who also has a comparative *καταπυγωνέστερον*, *Lys.* 776, the omega of which is due to metrical necessity, and the compounds *λακαταπύγων*, *Ach.* 664, and *παγκαταπύγων*, *Lys.* 137) and in two writers of the Roman age, Lucian and Alciphron. Lucian uses it several times, once in his parody of hyper-Atticism, *Lexiphanes*. It is recommended by Pollux (II. 184; VI. 126), who adds that Attic writers used it also of the middle finger (cf. the story in Diogenes Laertius VI. 34 and Sittl, *Gebärden* pp. 101-102). It is given by the Atticist Phrynichus as a definition of *λάστανρος* (*Ecl.* 173). Occasionally thereafter it appears in scholia, e. g. in schol. on Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 126 (p. 32 Dindorf) and in schol. on Lucian, *Alexander, or the False Prophet* 4 (p. 181 Rabe).

It occurs, too, in seven graffiti, four of which have already been published. We give them in roughly chronological order. It is possible, however, that the date we suggest for number 4 is too early and that it should be moved to the last or the next to the last place in the list.

(1) The earliest was found in a large deposit of pottery near the summit of Mount Hymettos (Blegen, *A.J.A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 11, fig. 1, pl. I) and is dated by Rodney Young in the seventh century B. C. (*Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 227).

(2) and (3) come from a well in the Athenian Agora, the contents of which date from

note on the declension of participles has been interpolated in the text and has caused a further interpolation. Lines 1-4 should probably read: *Τὰ εἰς γων ὑπὲρ δυνὸ συλλαβὰς ἀπλὰ βαρύντονα μὴ ὄντα μετοχικὰ διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, οἷον Σαλάγγωνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ*. For the rule on common gender see the canon of Theodosius quoted by us on p. 216 and Theognostus, *Canon* 160, Cramer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

The use of *καταπύγων* as a feminine is recorded also in the *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων*, Bachmann, *Anecdota graeca* I, p. 270, ll. 23-4: *εὔρηται καὶ τὸ θηλυκὸν καταπύγων*, a statement repeated *verbatim* from the *Συναγωγή* in Photius and Suidas, *s. v.* *καταπύγων*; see Adler ad loc. Suidae.

ca. 483 B. C. to ca. 460 B. C. On one of them, (2) (P 5169, *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 350-1, fig. 20), the epithet is applied to Alkaïos, whom Miss Talcott identifies with the Alkaïos called *kalos* on a Nolan amphora by the Achilles Painter in Berlin (J. D. Beazley, *A.R.V.* p. 635, no. 18; see also p. 913); the other, (3) (P 5157, *Hesperia* V, 1936, p. 36, fig. 36, and pp. 346-7, fig. 15), was published by Shear as a hexameter: *φησὶν ὁ γράψας Ε[ὐφρόν]ιος Σωσίας κατάπυγον*. The last word is a slip on Shear's part for *καταπύγων* (as was noted by Rumpf, *Gnomon*, XIV, 1938, p. 452). *Σωσίας καταπύγων* is written in a circle on the underside of the vase, close to the foot; the rest of the inscription forms a circle on the bottom of the foot. Most of the "writer's" name had been erased, but the remaining traces seemed to Shear to warrant the restoration. He suggested that Euphronios might be the well-known vase-painter (and potter) and that Sosias is perhaps the potter known to us from two signatures. Sir John Beazley observed, "If the persons mentioned are the potters, they must have been well on in years" and added, "Of course the writer of the Sosias inscription need not have been the man he says he was. It must be allowed, too, that the handwriting is not very like what appears on vases." (*Potter and Painter*, p. 20 f.) Beazley also noted that the order must be *Σωσίας καταπύγων*. *Εὐφρόνιος φησιν ὁ γράψας* and that the first two words form "a neat Pherecratean" like the Alkaïos graffito.

(4) On a broken vase found in a grave at Cumae is a graffito the letters of which were published by Gàbrici (who made nothing intelligible of it) as

ΣΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΓΥΛ ΝΗΟΓ ΡΙ

(*Mon. Ant.*, XXII, 1913, col. 459). Sir John Beazley, who told us of this graffito, restores it, on the basis of the publication, as follows:

Σωσ[ίας]
καταπύγ[ω]ν ὁ γρά[ψας φησὶν]

We are tempted to assume that it refers to the same Sosias and was written by the same person as our number 3. The grave from which it comes, however, a *tomba a cassa* with remains of one skeleton, contained among other vases an owl skyphos, a black-glazed ribbed open-mouthed jug of the third quarter of the fifth century B. C., and a pelike which, so far as we can judge from the small illustration (*op. cit.*, pl. CIV, 4), might be as late as ca. 430 B. C.⁵ The vase with the graffito in question is not

⁵ On the date of owl skyphoi see J. D. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXIX, 1949, p. 123, and F. P. Johnson in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, II, pp. 96 ff., who discusses this grave-group on p. 102. For the black-glazed ribbed jug, parallels are cited by Johnson, *loc. cit.* from an Athenian well containing pottery of the third quarter of the fifth century B. C., published by Miss Talcott,

illustrated. It is described by Gàbrici as "fragments of a clay *coppina*," a term which he uses of more than one shape, "on the outer surface of which are scratched various Greek letters partly effaced by corrosion; one piece is lacking and therefore the inscription is incomplete and incomprehensible." Neither a photograph nor a facsimile of the inscription is given. If subject and writer are the same as those of the Agora graffito, the Cumae one must be some decades earlier than the grave in which the fragments bearing it were found. Whether the fragments were there by accident—having been dropped, perhaps, years before into one of the other vases and then forgotten—or whether the *coppina* had been kept all that time because its owners prized its graffito is uncertain. An instance where the *beauty* of Attic vases led to



FIG. 1. Graffito P 15225 from the Athenian Agora, 1:2.

their preservation for twenty-five or thirty years before they were deposited in a tomb at Capua is discussed by Beazley (*A. J. A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 156-8), who also notes (p. 155) that vases deposited together in the tombs of Bologna and Spina show a considerable range in date.

Three more graffiti, Nos. 5, 6, and 7, were discovered in the Athenian Agora and were communicated to us by Miss Talcott and Mr. Eugene Vanderpool. They will be published by Mr. Vanderpool, who has kindly given us permission to include them in the present article, and, with great generosity, has allowed us to publish a photograph of No. 7, which is of particular interest to us because it refers to a woman.

Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 508 f., nos. 50-52, and from a well in Corinth containing pottery of 460-420 B. C., published by Miss Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 280 f., nos. 55-60.

(5) Inv. P 15225: Εὐκλ[ῆ]|ς καταπ|ύγων

on a fragment of a roof tile with dull black glaze (max. dim. 0.223 m.) found in a context of the second quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 1).

(6) Inv. P 5449: [κα]τα πύγ[ων]
Ἀριστομέ[νης]

on the base (est. D. 0.085 m.) of a black-glazed skyphos of about the middle of the fifth century (Fig. 2, left), found in a well deposit of the third quarter of the fifth century. Mr. Vanderpool regards the restoration of the first line as probable although not certain. Numerous scratches on the piece perhaps indicate an attempt to erase the inscription. The subject of the graffito may well be the Aristomenes called *καλός* on a mid-fifth-century lekythos in Syracuse, the name-piece of the Aristomenes Painter (*ARV* 360, 1). This *καλός* inscription is at any rate a strong argument in favor of



FIG. 2. Graffiti P 5449 and P 17123 from the Athenian Agora, 1:1.

Mr. Vanderpool's restoration of the name in the graffito; cf. the occurrence of the name Alkaios with *καλός* on a vase by the Achilles Painter and with *καταπύγων* in graffito No. 2 (above p. 218).

(7) Inv. P 17123: Σικέλα καταπυγ

written in a circle on the base (D. 0.06 m.) of a black-glazed skyphos of the third quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 2, right and Pl. 66 b). The writer, Mr. Vanderpool notes, first wrote *καταγυ* then corrected it to *καταπυγ*, but finally left the word unfinished. An attempt was subsequently made to erase the inscription.

This, we may remark in passing, is the fourth instance known to us of scratches across a graffito of this character. Here and in No. 3 the attempt at erasure is certain. In No. 6 Mr. Vanderpool does not call the attempt certain, but notes that the scratches are numerous. In the remaining instance, the neck-amphora with the Anthyle graffito

in the Metropolitan Museum, the scratches are not numerous (see Pl. 66 a), but may represent a quickly abandoned attempt at erasure.^{5a}

We see from the above epigraphical and literary evidence that *καταπύγων* was used in Athens at least as early as the seventh century B. C. and that its use persisted at least until 411 B. C., the date of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, in which the latest instance that we have found occurs. Perhaps it died out some time in the fourth century. The word *κίναϊδος*, which eventually became the commonest of all terms for an effeminate man, makes its first appearance in extant literature in Plato's *Gorgias*, and is used several times by Aeschines. It is not so crass as *καταπύγων* and may therefore have been more to the taste of fourth-century Athens.

Whether *καταπύγων* occurred in other dialects is uncertain. A comparative, *καταπυγοτέρα*, is cited from Sophron (above, p. 217). This is formed from *κατάπυγος*, which, we are told by grammarians and lexicographers, was also used.⁶ Likewise formed from *κατάπυγος* is the superlative *καταπυγότατος* in the pentameter scratched on a black-glazed lamp found in Gela and now in the British Museum (Walters, *Catalogue of Vases*, F 598; *Catalogue of Lamps*, no. 230):

εἰμὶ δὲ Πανσανία τοῦ καταπυγοτάτο.⁷

The antiquity of this inscription was doubted by Walters, but we are informed by Mr. Peter Corbett, who is going to republish the lamp in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, that "technical reasons make it absolutely certain that the graffito is ancient." Mr. Corbett also tells us that the lamp is not Attic and that its form "points to a date in the first half of the fourth century, and probably early in that period." We wish to thank him for his great kindness in allowing us to quote these

^{5a} An instance of erasure in a graffito of comparable type from the Athenian Agora has been drawn to our attention by Mr. Vanderpool, who has kindly allowed us to mention it before he publishes it. The following description and comments, taken from his manuscript, were transmitted to us, at his suggestion, by Miss Shoe.

Inv. P. 6153: Θεοδοσία λαικάδε[ι] εῦ
on a fragment of a black-glazed skyphos (P. H. 0.107 m., D. at lip 0.126 m.) of mid-fourth century type, found in a cistern deposit of the middle of the fourth century B. C. Mr. Vanderpool notes: "The name Theodosia has been crossed out. The last letters of the verb and hence its exact form are doubtful . . . For another instance of Δ instead of Ζ in a fourth-century graffito see No. P 3784 where ἐπιτραπέδι[α] = ἐπιτραπέζι[α]."

⁶ For the grammarians see Theognostus, Canon 174, quoted above, p. 216, and Choeroboscus, *Schol. in Theodosii Alexandrini canones*, Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* IV, 1, p. 273; for the lexicographers Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas s. v. The reference to Arrian, *Epic.* 3. 11, for *κατάπυγος* as the name of the middle finger made by Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 101, note 7, is a mistake. The word does not occur there or anywhere in Arrian's two works on Epictetus, to judge from Schenkl's *index verborum* in the *editio maior*. Apparently the reference is an intrusion from note 10 on the same page of Sittl's work, where Arrian, *Epic.* 3. 2. 11, is cited for the anecdote also told by Diogenes Laertius VI. 34 (above, p. 217).

⁷ The υ of τοῦ is written above the ο.

statements in the present article. So small and portable an object would not necessarily have been inscribed in the town in which it was found. The form εἰμί would suit Syracuse, where we have already met καταπνυγοτέρα. In Gela Rhodian was spoken; the Rhodian form is ἤμι. In the dialect of Gela's colony Akragas, however, εἰμί eventually prevailed (*I.G.*, XIV, 952, line 19). Might this be an earlier instance at Gela itself? Gelon's removal of more than half the citizens of Gela to Syracuse, moreover, must have added numbers of Geloan words to the Syracusan vocabulary. Presumably, some, at least, of these displaced citizens returned to Gela after the fall of the Deinomenidai and brought Syracusan words with them. Perhaps κατάπνυγος was carried from one of these towns to the other in this way.

The positive form κατάπνυγος was restored by Gerhard (*Phoenix von Kolophon*, p. 153, corrected on p. 285) after the opening word φιλόξενος (where καταπύγων would be metrically impossible) in Pap. Heidelberg 310, col. IV, line 130, in an anonymous choliambic poem attacking pederasty. He suggested that the passage referred to Aristophanes, *Wasps* 84, ἐπεὶ καταπύγων ἐστὶν ὁ γε Φιλόξενος. The anonymous poem belongs to the Hellenistic age and is written in colloquial style. The author might, however, have used an out-of-date word for the sake of the Aristophanic allusion.

It is at least clear that in Lucian and Alciphron καταπύγων is Atticistic. Herodian's observation that the feminine had the same form as the masculine, therefore, cannot refer to contemporary writers, but only to their models, the Attic classics. Otherwise the use would have been stigmatized as unwarranted. It is probable that it was in Old Comedy that the example or examples of καταπύγων as a feminine were found, for this is the only literary genre of the pre-Roman period in which it is certain that this word and its derivative καταπνυγοσύνη (also used by Lucian) occurred. It would at any rate not be a safe assumption that this feminine use of καταπύγων was any later than the last quarter of the fifth century B. C.

What then are we to make of καταπύγαινα? Some readers, recalling Pherecrates' lines (frag. 64)

αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὔτε μαγείραινεν εἶδε πώποτε
οὔτε μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαινεν

may conjecture that it is a nonce-form. We doubt this. The ending -αῖνα comes from *-av-yā, av representing here the weak grade of an n stem (Indo-European ṇ).⁸ It

⁸ On -αῖνα see K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*² II, 1, pp. 214 ff.; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XII, 1923, p. 280, note 1; P. Chantraine and A. Meillet, *Revue de philologie, de littérature, et de l'histoire anciennes*, LVIII, 1932, pp. 291 ff.; P. Chantraine, *La Formation des noms en grec ancien* pp. 107 ff.; E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 475; C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, pp. 289 ff.;

was early used to form feminines from masculines in *-ων*. All three of Theodosius' examples (above, p. 216) of feminines in *-αῖνα* from barytone masculines in *-ων* were formed in the prehistoric period of Greek, before their masculines, *λέων* (cf. Latin *leo, leonis*), *δράκων*, and *θεράπων*, which were originally *n* stems, were transferred to the *ντ* declension. In fact, modern linguistic science can, in a sense, be said to have reversed Theodosius' rule. The existence of a feminine in *-αῖνα* for a masculine in *-ων* that is declined with *ντ* really indicates that this masculine was originally declined with *ν*. To this earliest group *ἄκαινα* also belongs, since it was formed from *ἄκων* before the latter was transferred to the *ντ* declension. Neither Theodosius nor Choeroboscus mentions it, because, unlike the others, it indicates not the female counterpart of what is designed by the masculine, but a different object; therefore they failed to recognize it as a feminine formed from *ἄκων*. Of the examples mentioned by Choeroboscus, *τέκταινα* and *γείταινα* may well be early, for the poets, though they occasionally invented forms, made a much greater use of old words and forms that had become obsolete in daily speech. This was particularly true of the epic poets. *τέκταινα* belongs to epic vocabulary; it occurs not only in the hexameter quoted by Choeroboscus from Callimachus, but also in an interpolation of uncertain date in Hesiod's *Theogony* (quoted by Chrysippus in Galen, *De Plac. Hippocr. et Plat.* III. 8, p. 318 M).⁹ Sanskrit has *tákṣan-*, carpenter, and the feminine *takṣṇī*, which agree in formation with the Greek pair *τέκτων τέκταινα*, the Sanskrit *-nī* corresponding to Greek **-anya* from which, as we have seen (above, p. 222), *-αῖνα* is derived. It looks as if *καταπύγαινα* might have come into use at a time when feminines in *-αῖνα* were still freely formed from masculines in *-ων*. Later it became obsolete like *τέκταινα* and *γείταινα*. Since it was a scurrilous word, it naturally would have been preserved only in forms of literature that admitted scurrility, such as Iambic and Old Attic Comedy. The testimony of the grammarians suggests that it did not occur in the literature known to the Alexandrians and later scholars. Since practically nothing of Old

P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, p. 65. We have summarized in our text the commonly accepted theory. That of Chantraine and Meillet is that there was an Indo-European suffix *-nya* used to form feminines of nouns implying respect, which appears, e. g., in the Greek feminines *πότνια*, *δέσποινα*, *θέαινα*, and that this suffix came to be used for feminines of *n* stems. Which theory better suits the facts we are not competent to discuss. But whether or not the formation of feminines of *n* stems was the original function of *-αῖνα*, it was an early one, and one, furthermore, whose heyday was over by the end of the archaic period. After that it seems to have survived chiefly in the domain of personal names (cf. *Gnathaina*, *Tryphaina*).

⁹ The passage is given by Rzach in his *ed. maior* of Hesiod, pp. 109-10, and in the *ed. minor* (1913), p. 45. It is a doublet of the Metis episode and was dated late (*ganz spät*) by Wilamowitz. Wilamowitz also rejected the Metis episode of the standard text of Hesiod as a theological invention that was not in the Hesiod text known to Pindar, who in his *Hymn for the Thebans* (fr. 30) makes Themis the first wife of Zeus (*Sitzungsber. der Akad. der Wiss. Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 957 f. = *Kleine Schriften* V, 2, pp. 44 f.). Against a post-Pindaric date for the standard text of this episode see Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, p. 411, note 3.

Comedy earlier than Cratinus seems to have reached the Alexandrians, the form *καταπύγαινα* may have become obsolete some time between the date of our vase and the beginning of his age—i. e., roughly speaking, between *ca.* 530 B. C. and *ca.* 460 B. C. The latter part of this period coincides with the career of Aeschylus, whose language the contemporaries of Aristophanes sometimes found hard to understand, as we learn from the *Frogs*. How different Attic prose vocabulary of archaic times was from that of classical Attic prose is vividly shown by the fragments of “laws of Solon” quoted by Lysias in X. 16-19 (note e. g. *δρασκάζειν* = *ἀποδιδράσκειν*). It must not be forgotten, however, that our evidence is fragmentary; a scrap of papyrus from Egypt or an inscribed sherd from the Athenian Agora might turn up showing that *καταπύγαινα* survived far longer than we have surmised.

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THE ATTIC STELAI

PART I

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INTRODUCTION

MY title is taken from Pollux, X, 97. It was applied by him to stelai, standing in the Eleusinion, which recorded the sale of the confiscated property of the profaners of the Mysteries. Our stelai also include the property of the mutilators of the Herms. The study of these inscriptions falls naturally into two parts.¹ The

¹ The author wishes to thank the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the Fulbright Foundation for generous fellowships which made possible this work in Athens. I acknowledge too my deep obligations to all members of the Agora excavation staff; in particular, to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, *maestro e duce*, for permission to publish the Agora fragments; to Professor

first is presented here, and is concerned with the difficult problem of the reconstruction of the text, together with such introductory material as is essential for an understanding of the reconstruction. For epigraphical readings, the author is alone responsible; but it should be stated that no important difficult reading has been reported without first soliciting the opinion of at least one of the several able epigraphists now in Athens.

The second part, which the author hopes will be a collaborative study, will be concerned with the interpretation of the texts, and will include illustrative material which will make the inscriptions of interest to the more general reader. Each item in the general index will be examined anew.

SALES TAX

Some scholars have hitherto assumed that the Athenian tax was computed on a percentage basis. Thus, Hicks and Hill in their commentary on one of the stelai have written, "In all sales . . . one per cent was payable to the state by the buyer as an ἐπώνιον. This percentage is also set down in the account."² There are now preserved, however, more than 150 examples, sufficient to allow us to formulate a plausible hypothesis as to the nature of the sales tax imposed by the Athenian state.³

Only those examples have been included which have probative value. No table, of course, can present exactly the evidence of our fragmentary texts. In a few cases where the sales prices may not be completely preserved, but the amount which could be added to the right of the preserved sum can only be a small figure, the entry has

Homer A. Thompson for his encouraging interest; to Miss Alison Frantz for photographs; to Miss Lucy Talcott for assisting in innumerable ways; to Miss A. Kokoni for her careful typewriting of the manuscript; to Mr. Andreas Mavraganis for the actual rebuilding of two of the stelai. But my greatest debt is to Professor Eugene Vanderpool, who has made my task both easier and pleasanter by his gracious assistance and constant good advice. To the American School of Classical Studies at Athens I tender my thanks for their hospitable co-operation. Dr. Markellos Mitsos and Dr. John Threpsiades facilitated my work by courteously allowing me to study inscriptions in the museums under their jurisdiction. Professor James W. Poultney helpfully provided several suggestions about new words. Dr. Norman Herz, now of the United States Geological Survey, furnished the geological data about the marble fragments. The members of my epigraphical seminary at the University of California earned my warm appreciation for their study of special problems. Dr. Anne Pippin has carefully assisted in the scrutiny of the final proofs. Professor D. A. Amyx has given sound criticisms in the later stage of the work. To my wife I am indebted for two drawings, as well as for invaluable encouragement and assistance with each section of the work, with indexes and proofs.

² *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 143. A solution essentially the same as that adopted here was briefly suggested by Koehler in *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1865, p. 543. Cf. Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht*, p. 740, note 236.

³ For convenience, I give a table of the Greek monetary system used in these inscriptions:

6 obols = 1 drachma
6000 drachmas = 1 talent

been included in the table. Thus in Stele I, line 56, the sales price is preserved as Π . The stone is broken after the first obol, but the sum could not be more than 5 drachmas, 5 obols. In our table, the entry will be found under the figure for the preserved sales price. In some instances of the sales tax, there is space on the stone for only one numeral, so these examples have been included even though the numeral is restored.

TABLE I

Sales Price		Sales Tax		References	Sales Price		Sales Tax		References
Drachmas	Obols	Drachmas	Obols		Drachmas	Obols	Drachmas	Obols	
	1	1		I, 51, 63	15		3		II, 276
	2	1		I, 65; II, 198, 199; III, 8, 9	18		3		I, 20
	3	1		I, 58, 62, 66, 67; II, 240, 246	20		3		I, 22, 74; II, 87, 288; X, 31
	4	1		I, 64; III, 16	21		3		I, 84; X, 35
	5	1		II, 6	22		3		II, 83
1		1		I, 52; II, 197, 269	25	2	3		I, 76
1	1	1		II, 268; III, 11	25		3		I, 96
1	2	1		II, 264, 265; III, 14	26	1	3		I, 83
1	3	1		II, 33	30		3		I, 75, 77, 80, 85
1	5	1		III, 10	30	1	3		I, 78, 79
2		1		I, 55, 59, 60, 61; II, 9, 192, 201	34		1		I, 88
2	1	1		II, 263	40		3		II, 82
2	2	1		VII, 57-58	42		1		I, 29
3		1		II, 195, 266	50		1		X, 11
3	1	1		II, 7; III, 12	51		1		II, 283
3	3	1		II, 38	52		1		I, 89; VI, 86; VII, 81
4		1		II, 43, 193(?) ; VII, 56	59		1		II, 254
4	4	1		II, 47	60		1		I, 49, 54; II, 262; VII, 59
5		3		II, 166, 278, 279	72		1		I, 46
5	1	3		I, 53, 56, 57; II, 41, 191	80		1		I, 82
6		3		I, 86; II, 49, 267	105		1	3	I, 38; X, 15, 16
6	1	3		II, 45; III, 7	115		1	3	I, 41
6	2	3		I, 87; II, 4, 242	121		1	3	I, 43
6	3	3		II, 35; III, 15	130		1	3	X, 9
6	4	3		II, 241; VII, 60-61	131		1	3	VI, 129
7	3	3		II, 244	135		1	3	I, 35
8		3		II, 196	136		1	3	X, 3
8	1	3		III, 6	140		1	3	II, 74
8	3	3		II, 27; III, 13	144		1	3	I, 42
10		3		I, 72, 73; II, 165, 260, 274, 280; X, 18	151		2		I, 48
10	1	3		II, 39	153		2		I, 44
11		3		VII, 55	155		2		I, 81
12		3		II, 286	161		2		I, 39
14		3		II, 190, 285	165		2		I, 34
					170		2		I, 36; X, 25
					174		2		I, 45

180	2		VI, 130	240	2	3	I, 37
195	2		X, 7	301	3	1	I, 47
200	2	1	I, 95	310	3	3	II, 79; VII, 78
202	2	1	I, 28	360	4		II, 77
205	2	3	X, 17	1200	12		VI, 100
210	2	3	VI, 124, 125	1500	15		VI, 90
215	2		II, 71	1800	18		X, 1
215	2	3	VI, 126	2150	22		VII, 40
220	2	3	I, 40	6100	61		VII, 75-76

Leaving out of consideration for the moment three problematical examples, I would suggest that the state exacted a tax in accordance with the following table:

TABLE II

Sales Price			Tax			Sales Price			Tax			Sales Price			Tax		
in Obols	Drachmas	Obols				in Obols	Drachmas	Obols				in Obols	Drachmas	Obols			
1- 29			1			1230-1499	2	3				2700-2999	5				
30- 299			3			1500-1799	3					3000-3029	5	1			
300- 599	1					1800-1829	3	1				3030-3299	5	3			
600- 629	1	1				1830-2099	3	3				3300-3599	6				
630- 899	1	3				2100-2399	4					3600-3629	6	1			
900-1199	2					2400-2429	4	1				3630-3899	6	3			
1200-1229	2	1				2430-2699	4	3				3900-4199	7				
																	etc.

We may translate this table into Greek monetary symbols as follows:

TABLE III

<i>Sales Price</i>	<i>Tax</i>
I — ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	I
Γ — ΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	III
Ϟ — ϞΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥
Η — ΗΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥I
ΗΓ — ΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥III
ΗϞ — ΗϞΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥
ΗΗ — ΗΗΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥I
ΗΗΓ — ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥III
ΗΗϞ — ΗΗϞΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥
ΗΗΗ — ΗΗΗΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥I
ΗΗΗΓ — ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥III
ΗΗΗϞ — ΗΗΗϞΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥⊥
ΗΗΗΗ — ΗΗΗΗΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥⊥I
ΗΗΗΗΓ — ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥⊥⊥⊥III
ΗΗΗΗϞ — ΗΗΗΗϞΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥
Ϟ — ϞΙΙΙΙΙΙ	⊥I

<i>Sales Price</i>	<i>Tax</i>
ΠΓ — ΠΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ	ΓΓΓ
ΠΠ — ΠΠΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ	ΓΓ
ΠΗ — ΠΗΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ	ΓΓ
ΠΗΓ — ΠΗΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ	ΓΓΓΓ
ΠΗΠ — ΠΗΠΔΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ	ΓΓ
ΠΗΗ —	
etc.	

For the first 29 obols the tax was one obol. Sums from five drachmas up to fifty drachmas were taxed three obols. Sums from 50 drachmas up to 100 drachmas were taxed one drachma. Then the sequence of 0, 5, and 50 drachmas was repeated: 100 up to 105 drachmas yielded one drachma, one obol; 105 up to 150 drachmas yielded one drachma, three obols; 150 drachmas up to 200 drachmas yielded two drachmas; etc. Taxes of 2, 4 and 5 obols were disregarded. There were only three steps: 1 obol, 3 obols, 1 drachma. Obviously no effort was made at accurate interest computation.

There is one modification to be made in the table as the sum became progressively larger. Round sums such as 1200 drachmas, 1500 drachmas yield 12 to 15 drachmas, respectively, instead of 12 drachmas, 1 obol and 15 drachmas, 1 obol. The obol was omitted from round numbers, starting at least as low as 1200 drachmas.

There are three examples given above in Table I which do not conform to our Tables II and III for the computation of sales taxes. The error in I, 29 is discussed in the Commentary on Stele I. The sales price of 42 drachmas yielded a tax of one drachma rather than the three obols one expects. The sales tax is restored, but this is the figure required to make the total in line 33 correct. Lines 28 and 29 contain the prices for two entries, the total for which is given in line 33. If three obols, rather than one drachma, are restored in line 29, we must postulate an error in the sum in line 33. Uninscribed space in line 29 seems to permit only one numeral, and we must assume here an overcharge by the poletai of three obols, or else a scribal error.

The second example may be explained as a stonecutter's error. In I, 88 the sales price is 34 drachmas. The tax is one drachma, not the three obols which one would expect from our table. Our entry is preceded by five entries in which the tax was 3 obols and is followed by two, and possibly more entries, in which the tax was one drachma; for the stone is broken after the third entry of a drachma sales tax. The stonecutter in changing from three obols to one drachma, as he came down the column, may have started his row of one drachmas one line too soon.

The third error may be apparent rather than real. It occurs in II, 71 where a sales price of 215 drachmas seems to yield 2 drachmas rather than 2 drachmas, 3 obols, which should be the tax on all items between 205 and 250 drachmas. Our line is inscribed just below the edge of a fracture, and it is to be noted that the numerals are cut very close together. In an example of similar crowding below in line 79, the

three obols were inscribed in the space just above the three drachmas to complete a tax of 3 drachmas, 3 obols. Similarly, in our line 71, I would suggest that the three obols may have been inscribed above the 2 drachmas to yield a tax of 2 drachmas, 3 obols, and I have so restored the tax in the text.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

All of the fifteen names of the condemned (p. 298)⁴ which appear in the epigraphical texts are known from the pages of Andokides' oration "On the Mysteries," where 65 different names are mentioned. To be sure, two of the names are preserved on the stone in forms slightly different from those in the text of Andokides, and Andokides has been emended accordingly.⁵ Whereas Andokides mentions Euphiletos only in connection with the mutilation of the Herms,⁶ the stone records that he was convicted of two charges,⁷ the burlesquing of the Mysteries as well as the affair of the Herms.

According to Andokides' *De Mysteriis*, Andromachos, slave of Archebiades, was the first of the informers and gave evidence concerning the celebration of the Mysteries. Of the names of the condemned which occur on our inscriptions, five (Alkibiades, Nikides, Oionias, Panaitios, and Polystratos) likewise appear in his list, as preserved in Andok. I, 12-13. The second information was given by Teukros, the metic, who was brought from Megara to Athens. From his list of twelve, preserved in Andok. I, 15, our inscriptions contain the names of three: Hephaistodoros, Kephisodoros, and Phaidros. The third information concerning the celebration of the Mysteries was given by Agariste. She informed that Alkibiades, Axiochos and Adeimantos had celebrated the Mysteries in Charmides' house. The names of the three men appear in our epigraphical documents. The fourth source of information according to Andokides (I, 17) was the slave Lydos. Andokides did not record his list, but Lydos mentioned Leogoras, father of Andokides, Akoumenos, and Autokrator, and it is reasonable to infer Pherekles, in whose house the celebration took place. The name of Pherekles occurs in our inscriptions. Thus of the thirty-two different names which are reported in Andokides' *De Mysteriis* as being charged with the profanation of the Mysteries, eleven are now found on stone.

Information concerning the mutilation of the Herms was given, according to

⁴ Three other names are too fragmentary to permit consideration in this section.

⁵ Νικίδης rather than Νικιάδης and Οἰωνίας rather than Ἰωνίας in Andok. I, 13. See Kirchner, *P.A.*, 11370, and Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 75.

⁶ Andok. I, 35. The inscriptions record that Pherekles was convicted on both charges. Kirchner (*P.A.*, 14191 and 14194), following Koehler (*Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, p. 392), entered two men of this name. The second must be deleted, however, and both entries must be assigned to Pherekles of Themakos. Lydos, a slave of Pherekles, informed (Andok. I, 17) that the Mysteries had been celebrated at the house of his master. In Andok. I, 35, he was denounced by Teukros in the matter of the Herms.

⁷ Περὶ ἀμφοτέρων: VI, 88-89, and X, 14.

Andokides, by Teukros, Diokleides, and Andokides himself. The testimony of Andokides (I, 52-53) was to the effect that twenty-two men were responsible for the mutilation, the eighteen executed on information lodged by Teukros and the four others denounced by Andokides. Of the eighteen names which occur in the lists of both Teukros and Andokides, three (Eurymachos, Euphiletos, and Pherekles) now appear in the inscriptions. Of the four names added by Andokides, two (Panaitios and Chairedemos) likewise appear. Thus, of the twenty-two culprits, five are named on our stelai. Of the fabricated list of Diokleides, there would be, of course, no names preserved.

One other name is contained in the epigraphical record: Alkibiades of Phegous. In Andokides (I, 65), he was simply referred to as one of the two men who had induced Diokleides to tell his story. The account in Andokides, at least to the extent of this omission, is therefore incomplete.

The following list, reproduced in part from Miss Ruth Allen's University of Cincinnati dissertation (*The Mutilation of the Herms: A Study in Athenian Politics*, 1951) gives the names, as they appear in Andokides' *De Mysteriis*, of those accused of profaning the Mysteries and mutilating the Herms. The fabricated list of Diokleides, from which Andokides lists thirteen names, is omitted. An asterisk in front of a name indicates that it likewise occurs in our inscriptions.

I. *Profaning the Mysteries*

A. List of Andromachos (Andok. I, 12-13)

1. *Alkibiades
2. Andromachos (slave)
3. Archebiades
4. Archippos
5. Aristomenes
6. Diogenes
7. Hikesios (slave)
8. Meletos
9. *Nikides
10. *Oionias
11. *Panaitios
12. *Polystratos
13. Polytion

B. List of Teukros (Andok. I, 15)

1. Antiphon

2. Diognetos
3. Gniphonides
4. *Hephaistodoros
5. Isonomos
6. *Kephisodoros
7. Pantakles
8. *Phaidros
9. Philokrates
10. Smindyrides
11. Teisarchos
12. Teukros

C. List of Agariste (Andok. I, 16)

1. *Adeimantos
2. *Alkibiades
3. *Axiochos
4. Charmides

D. List of Lydos (Andok. I, 18)

1. Akoumenos

2. Autokrator
3. Leogoras
4. *Pherekles

II. *Mutilating the Herms*

A. List of Teukros (Andok. I, 35)

1. Alkisthenes
2. Antidoros
3. Archidamos
4. Charippos
5. Eryximachos
6. Euktemon
7. *Euphiletos
8. Eurydamas
9. *Eurymachos
10. Glaukippos

11. Meletos
12. Menestratos
13. *Pherekles
14. Platon
15. Polyeuktos
16. Telenikos
17. Theodoros
18. Timanthes

B. List of Andokides (Andok. I, 67)

All those accused by Teukros,
and in addition:

19. *Chairedemos
20. Diakritos
21. Lysistratos
22. *Panaitios

The entire purpose of the first part of the *De Mysteriis* is to show that Andokides was not named by any of the four informers, nor had he given information about the profanation of the Mysteries. The study of the prosopographical evidence afforded by the inscriptions leads to the conviction that the orator's lists are essentially accurate.

DATE

There are three sources of evidence for the dating of the Hermokopidai stelai:

1. A statement in the Attidographer Philochoros, as preserved in the Venetus scholia to Aristophanes, *Aves*, 766, to the effect that the property of the Hermokopidai was confiscated and the names of the offenders inscribed on stelai in the year 415/4. Jacoby's text for the fragment is in part as follows:⁸ ἐπὶ Χαβρίου θάνατόν τε κατεγνώσθησαν, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐστηλιτεύθη καὶ ἐδημεύθη <τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν>.

2. References in Stele No. X to specific calendar dates. These show that at least some of the sales fell in the second half of the year 414/3 B. C., or possibly some subsequent year. In this stele, sales are dated as follows:

Lines 5-6: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρεχθείδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανευούσης Γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμη ἰσταμένου

Line 8: ἐνάτῃ φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος

Line 10: ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος

⁸ *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 328, fr. 134.

Line 13: Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτηι φθίνοντος

Line 21: [.] καὶ εἰκο[στῇ τῆς πρυτανείας]

Line 28: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο[χίδος --- πρυτανευούσης] ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας

Line 37: πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰ[κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας]

Since Erechtheis is recorded in line 5 as having held the seventh prytany, this sale could not take place in the year 415/4 when Erechtheis has been shown to have held the second prytany of the year.⁹ This was demonstrated long ago by Keil.¹⁰ Several reasons have been advanced for not dating Stele X later than 413 B. C.,¹¹ the most convincing of which is the striking coincidence that Erechtheis is named in another document of the year 414/3 B. C. (*I.G.*, I², 297) as the seventh tribe in prytany.¹² This coincidence favors the date 414/3 B. C. for our stele.

3. Evidence on Stele No. II relating to the sale of crops. Holleaux (*R.E.G.*, X, 1897, p. 36) has shown that ἐπικαρπία denotes crops not yet harvested. In Stele II (lines 83-84, 88-89), unharvested crops which were auctioned off include:

1. σῦκα
2. σταφυλαί
3. ἐλαίαι

In Greece, the main harvest season for the grape is September-October. Figs are gathered in the late summer, August-September. The olive ripens later than figs and grapes, and is harvested in the early fall (September-October).¹³ It is customary today for crops to be sold while they are ripening but before they have been harvested. The most suitable time of the year, then, for the sale of a crop of olives, figs and grapes would be in the early fall (September), certainly not in the month of February, the time of the sale recorded on Stele X. The sale recorded on Stele No. II must, I believe, be part of a transaction separate from that of Stele No. X.

It is to be noted that the only stele which records a date is Stele No. X, and that this stele contains seven different dates within 37 lines. These sales, spaced at intervals of several days and including property in the Troad, may reasonably be assumed to be the final sales of the confiscated property. The chief question is the date of the main sale, which must have been recorded on the series of large stelai which include Nos.

⁹ *I.G.*, I², 302, line 57.

¹⁰ *Hermes*, XXIX, 1894, p. 45. Cavaignac has advanced the unattractive theory that Erechtheis held two prytanies in one year (*Note sur la chronologie attique au V^e siècle*, pp. 15-18); and, accordingly, has dated Stele No. X in 415/4.

¹¹ See Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 341-2, and bibliography there cited.

¹² For the most recent text of *I.G.*, I², 297, see B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 88-89.

¹³ See Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*⁴, p. 54.

I-III. If we accept the evidence of the unharvested crops listed under part 3, a date in the early fall of either the year 415 or 414 would seem the most likely probability.

The Philochoros passage shows that the trials took place in the year 415/4 B. C.¹⁴ Thucydides narrates, moreover, that the sentence against Alkibiades and his companions (VI, 61,7) was completed before the end of summer of 415 (VI, 62,5), and those found guilty in connection with the affair of the Herms were apparently condemned even earlier.¹⁵ For the period between the end of the summer of 415 and the dates recorded in Stele X, there is no calendaric information. If the main sales took place in the fall of 415, the auction was not completed until at least eighteen months later. On the other hand, if the main sale fell in September 414, the delay was in setting up the machinery of auction. In the light of Fine's recent demonstration that there was a major change in the laws of land tenure beginning at the time of our inscriptions,¹⁶ there is no unequivocal evidence for the sale of confiscated land at Athens before our documents,¹⁷ and the change involved in the breakdown of the old Athenian system of inalienable family land may have required a lengthy period for establishing the legal machinery.

PLACE OF ERECTION

The stelai listing the confiscated property of the desecraters of the Eleusinian gods were set up in the Eleusinion, southeast of the Athenian Agora.¹⁸ Hitherto, it has generally been held that the inscriptions were set up in two places, the original copies at Eleusis and duplicates in Athens,¹⁹ either in the Agora or on the Acropolis.²⁰ This determination derives from two literary passages: (1) Athenaeus XI, 476E: ἔστι γοῦν τοῦτο εὐρεῖν ἐν τοῖς δημοπρατοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένον οὕτως ἐκ στήλης ἀνακειμένης ἐν ἀκροπόλει . . . ; and (2) Pollux X, 97: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς στήλαις, αἱ κεῖνται ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, τὰ τῶν ἀσεβησάντων περὶ τῷ θεῷ δημοσίᾳ πραθέντα ἀναγράφονται ἐν αἷς ἄλλα

¹⁴ Philochoros' phrase τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐστηλιτεύθη must be taken to refer to the process of *στηλίτευσις* involved in proscription (See Glotz in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. poena, p. 532 A, and Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, p. 204, note 1) and is not descriptive of the inscribing of our stele.

¹⁵ Thuc. VI, 60 and 61, 1.

¹⁶ Fine, *Horoi*, p. 204: "Is there any significance in the fact that this inscription is the first official record of the sale of confiscated property which is extant . . . ?"

¹⁷ For earlier references to *δημόπρατα*, see Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 659, and I.G., I², 95 (text of Woodhead, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 81.)

¹⁸ For the site, see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; IX, 1940, p. 267; and, in particular, E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 134-136.

¹⁹ H. Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, p. 266: "Von den Poleten-Urkunden JG I² 325-334, die in Eleusis und wahrscheinlich als Duplikat im athenischen Eleusinion standen, sind die grossen Fragmente bei der Hypapanti und dem Markttor gefunden." Cf. also U. Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, pp. 399-400; and H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447, note 5.

²⁰ Cf. A. Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens* (Engl. transl. of 2nd ed., 1857), p. 274.

τε πολλὰ σκευή ἐστὶν ὀνομασμένα καὶ μολυβδοκρατενταί.²¹ In the former passage, Koehler, followed by Kaibel and Gulick, has shown that there is a lacuna after οὔτως.²² In the latter passage, Bergk first proposed the emendation of Ἐλευσινίῳ for Ἐλευσῖνι. It was rejected by Koehler because of the omission of the article²³ and because he felt a more exact designation of the Eleusinion in Athens was necessary. Koehler's viewpoint has prevailed until J. Hatzfeld recently pointed out that Bergk's text is preferable.²⁴ With this emendation, we are relieved of the necessity of assuming a duplicate copy for which there is no other evidence.

GEOLOGY

In the sorting-out of the various fragments of marble which were to be assigned to the different inscriptions, considerable attention has been paid to the geological structure of the marble. In this geological analysis, the writer has enjoyed the co-operation of Dr. N. Herz, now of the United States Geological Survey. For an explanation of terms used, reference should be made to our article in *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, pp. 71-83. The system of terminology there described is not here adopted in complete detail because the geology article was completed after the present study at a time when I could no longer consult the inscriptions here published.

The structure of the marble has been particularly significant in reconstructing Stele II. Here the plane of foliation, that is, the plane in which the calcite crystals of the marble appear to lie, has been used as a determinant in placing the fragments. This plane is "folded"²⁵ in such a way that the crest of the arch is around line 40. Above this fold, in the upper part of the stele, the plane of foliation dips to the upper left; below, it dips to the bottom left. In the crest of the arch, the plane is very nearly parallel to the inscribed surface. At the top of the stele the angle is about 20°, at the bottom left, the dip is about 10°. This is a particularly distinct and unusual example of folding in the relatively narrow limits of one marble stele.

In Stele VI, it was noted that there were very pronounced muscovite (white) mica bands, which made lines on the surface. These lines run parallel to the left and right edges of the stone, that is, at right angles to the inscribed letters. This

²¹ Ed. Bethe.

²² See C. B. Gulick on this passage in the *Loeb Classical Library*.

²³ The article was normally employed in Attic inscriptions in the phrase designating the Eleusinion; see *I.G.*, II², 204, line 57; 661, line 32; 848, line 30; and 1078, lines 14 and 41. However, for the absence of the article, especially in prepositional phrases, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 227. It may be observed that Pollux was following a written collection of Demioprata and had not seen the inscriptions. U. Koehler (*Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, p. 399) suggests Krateros as the source.

²⁴ *Alcibiade*, Paris, 1940, p. 204, note 1.

²⁵ A fold is an arcuation in marble.

lineation of a prominent accessory mineral has been particularly significant because the epigraphical considerations on which one would usually rely, namely, the vertical and horizontal spacing, are here undependable. All the fragments which have been brought together were undoubtedly inscribed by the same stonecutter, but lines are often closer together on one fragment than on another. The writer hesitated for a time to put fragment *a*, where a line occupies a vertical space of 0.013 m. and five letters a horizontal space of 0.06 m., in the same inscription with fragment *o*, where a line measures vertically 0.010 m., and five letters occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.038-0.04 m. The sixteen fragments published here as Stele VI have been brought together largely because they, and they alone of the fragments preserved, contain this particular lineation of mica bands; their association in the same stele, therefore, is strongly probable. This inscription must have been cut on a very large block of marble which contained several columns with the letters and lines more broadly spaced in the beginning of the text than in the end.

Other geological factors which have helped in placing specific fragments will be noted in their place in the text.

It should be emphasized that these observations about the geological structure of marble are in a sense of a negative nature. They may prove that two pieces cannot go together, if the foliation plane is different. But they cannot prove that two stones *must* go together. Two stelai may have been cut in the same workshop from the same section of marble, and will thus have the same foliation or geological structure. In the case of the Hermokopidai stelai, it must be borne in mind that many of the stelai show evidence of similar workmanship, and may well have been incised in the same workshop.

For instance, fragment *d* has been assigned to the upper part of Stele II because it has the foliation dip that is characteristic of this part of the stele. Moreover, it has the same dressing on the back. But it is quite possible that this fragment could come from an entirely different stele which was cut from the same section of the marble.

Likewise, as is explained below, fragment *i* may or may not belong to Stele II. But there is no other stele with which it can be associated.

DIMENSIONS OF STELAI I AND II

Stele I, with its 12 fragments, Stele II, with 19 fragments, and Stele III with one fragment, all have the same original thickness, 0.114 m.

The width of Stelai I and II can be determined as approximately 1.00 m., so it seems a reasonable assumption that the auctioned property was inscribed in part on a series of stelai, including I-III, of the same size.

For the four columns of Stele I, the following figures for width are known:

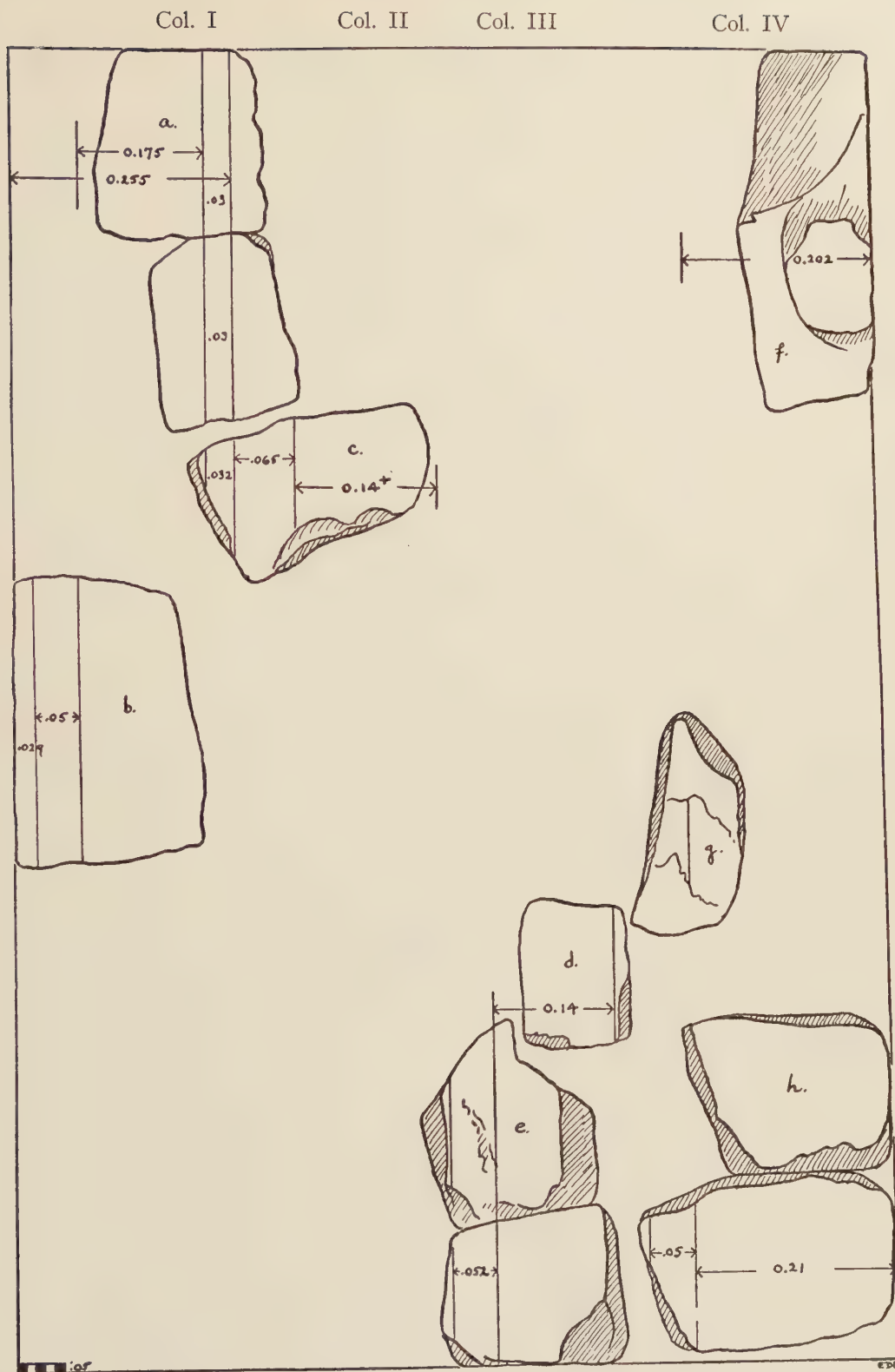


FIG. 1. STELE I.

Stele I

	Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV
Sales tax	0.029	0.03	---	---
Sales price	0.05	0.065	0.052	0.05
Item	0.175	0.14+	0.14	0.21

The only unknown factors are the sales tax for Columns III and IV. The sales tax in the two known columns was about 0.03 m. and we may use this figure in Columns III and IV. The width of the list of items in Column II was at least 0.14 m., as can be seen from fragment *c*; it may possibly have been a little more. Adding the known figures to the estimated 0.06 m. for the sales tax, we get 1.001 m., or about 1 meter.

For the five columns of Stele II, the measurements of width are as follows:

Stele II

	Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV	Col. V
Sales tax	0.02	lacking	0.017	0.017	---
Sales price	0.05	lacking	0.05	0.053	---
Item	0.184	0.128	0.137	0.137	---

The only unknown factor is the width of Column V. If this column is made 0.207 m. wide, which is the width of Column IV, the stele was exactly 1 m. wide.

The height of the stelai can be estimated only roughly. Although there are several lacunae between the fragments which preserve the text of Column III of Stele II, this column must have been close to 1.50 m. in height. When the fragments from this column are placed so that they touch, the stele would be more than one meter in height and additional space must be allowed for the lacunae of the text.

The only other evidence for the height comes from the taper of Stele I. By the use of a straight-edge the taper of Stele I along the right side can be determined as 0.002 m. for the upper 0.40 m. of the stele. From this we may deduce that the taper of each side was about 0.008 m. This means, in turn, that the stele was about 0.016 m. wider at the bottom than at the top. The width of the entries of Column IV on Stele I is 0.202 m. near the top of the column. This measurement is determined on the basis of the necessary restoration at the first preserved lines of the column (lines 160 ff.). The width of the column of entries in the last line is exactly 0.210 m.²⁶ Twenty-seven lines above, the width of the column is 0.208 m. These measurements, it should be emphasized, can be used only for a rough approximation because there are slight

²⁶ A few lines above, the width is 0.215 m., but this is because there is a small bump on the right side of the stele.

divergences in the alignment in the preserved part of the column; but they would indicate that about 120 lines were inscribed in a column and that Stele I was *ca.* 1.50 m. in height. This figure is in accord with our rough estimate for the height of Stele II.

The total dimensions, then, were 1.50 m. by 1.00 m. by 0.114 m.

It may be noted here that Stele VIII, of which we have the original upper left corner, did not have a taper.

TEXTS AND EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

I. Twelve fragments of a fine to medium grained, light yellowish gray marble, four of which have been published in the *editio minor* of the Attic corpus. Three others have appeared in *Hesperia*. The marble exhibits very prominently traces of iron ore minerals, the lineation of which is more or less perpendicular to the inscribed text, or more accurately 15° left. This latter is the angle between the lineation and a line perpendicular to the inscribed lines.

Stele I, as reconstructed, is presented in Plates 68 (obverse) and 69 (reverse). The Epigraphical Museum fragments are represented by plaster casts; there was no effort to make the backs of these resemble the originals. Since the casts did not photograph as well as the marble, I give in Plates 67 and 72 those photographs of Epigraphical Museum pieces which have not been previously published. Figure 1 shows the stele with the measurements for the sales price, the sales tax, and the entries of the four columns.

(a) (Plate 67). Two joining fragments preserving the original top and back of the stele. Across the top of the back there is a smooth band 0.04 m. in width. A photograph of this back is reproduced in Plate 72. The upper piece was found in a Byzantine wall in Section II on March 21, 1938. The lower piece, the date and place of the discovery of which are unknown, was first published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 385-386 (photograph on p. 385). *S.E.G.*, X, p. 107.

Height (as joined), 0.45 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. Nos. I 236 o and E.M. 2765.

(b) (Plate 72). This fragment, preserving the left margin, was found near the gate of Athena Archegetis. Koehler, *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1865, p. 541; Eustratiades, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1869, pp. 337-341; *I.G.*, I, 277; Michel, *Recueil*, 567; Hicks and Hill, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 72; Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 96; *I.G.*, I², 329; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², 79.

(c) This fragment, discovered in a marble pile in Section ΘΘ on March 1, 1939, preserves the original back. The inscribed face is much worn.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 t.

(d) Found in a modern wall in Section BB on May 19, 1939. The original back is preserved.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 z.

(e) (Plate 67). Two joining fragments preserving the original bottom and back. The upper fragment, found on the Acropolis behind the Propylaea, was first published as *I.G.*, I, 278 and republished as *I.G.*, I², 334. The lower fragment, which bears the Agora Inventory No. I 236 j, was found in the wall of a house in Section II on April 13, 1937.

Height (as joined), 0.40 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

(f) This fragment, consisting of two joining pieces, was published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 47-49, and *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 34-35; a photograph is reproduced as plate 9, no. 17. The fragment, which bears the Agora Inventory No. I 236 a, preserves the original top and right side.

(g) This fragment, which preserves the original back, was found in a modern wall in Section BB on April 6, 1939.

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 v.

(h) Two joining pieces, preserving the original back, which have been published as *I.G.*, I², 330. A photograph of this fragment appears in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 49. The upper of the two pieces, found on the approaches to the Acropolis, was published by Wilhelm in *Jahreshefte*, VI, 1903, pp. 236-241. The lower piece was published by Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, p. 396. Bibliography: *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 178, no. 277 d; Michel, *Recueil*, 568 and 1511; Hicks and Hill, *Manual*, 72; Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften*, no. 148; Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 102; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², 80.

			STELE I		
Column I					
			15	---	[...]τια
				---	[χύτ]ρα χαλκῆ
				---	[χύτ]ρα χαλκῆ
				---	[χύτρ]α χαλκῆ
				---	[. . . .]ς χαλκῆς
5					(lacuna of unknown length)
				.Δ---	.ι---
		[... ⁶ ...]ς	20	[I]II	ἐπικαρπία[a]
		[... ⁵ ...]ε			Θρία
		[παῖς II]εἰσίστρατος Κάρ		[I]II	ἐπικαρπία
10		[κεφάλαιο]ν Ἐφαιστοδόρο			Ἀθμονοῖ
		[... ⁸ ...]HHHH C			κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπονί[οις]
		[Ἀλκιβιάδο τ]ῷ Κλεινίω	25		XXXXHHHΔΔHHHH
		[Σκαμβονίδ]ο σκεύε τάδε ἐπρά[θ]ε			Πολυστράτο τῷ Διο[δόρο]

		Ἄγκυλῆθεν	III	Δ --	---
	HHH	Πίστος	III	ΔΔ --	---
	[H]	ἐπικαρπία Ἄγ-	75 III	ΔΔΔ --	---
30		κυλῆσι	III	ΔΔΓ --	---
		κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπονίο[ις]	III	ΔΔΔ --	---
		HHHΔΔΔΓHH	III	ΔΔΔ!	---
		Κεφισοδόρο μετοίκο ἐμ Περαι[ιῆ]	III	ΔΔΔ!	---
	HH	Θράιττα	80 III	ΔΔΔ	---
35	HHH	Θράιττα	H	HΠΓ	---
	[H]H	Θράιχς	H	ΠΔΔΔ --	---
	HHH	Σύρος	III	ΔΔΓH	---
	[H]HH	Κάρ	III	ΔΔH	---
	HH	ἡλλυριός	85 III	ΔΔΔ	---
40	HHH	Θράιττα	III	ΓH	---
	HH	Θράιχς	III	ΓHH	---
			H	ΔΔΔHHH --	---
			H	ΠH --	---
	HHH	Σκύθες	90 H	---	---
	HH	ἡλλυριός	---	---	[λέβ]ες
	HH	Κόλχος	---	---	[λέβ]ες
			---	---	[ὀβ]ελίσκοιΓHHH
45	HH	Κὰρ παῖς	[HHH]	ΔΔΓH	[ὀ]β[ελί]σκοιΓH
	H	Καρικὸν παιδίον	[HHH]	ΔHHHH	[ὀβ]ελ[ί]σκοιΓH
	[H]HH	Σύρος	95 HH	HH	[ὀβ]ελ[ί]σκοι(ς)
	[H]H	Μελιττ[ενός vel ενέ]	!!!	Δ[Δ]Γ!!	χαλκίον θερμαντέρι[ον]
	H	Λυδέ	---	---	[θέρμα]υστις
			---	---	[θέρ]ρμανστις
			[HHH]	Δ[ΔΔ]Γ	ερ[....]τον
	Column II		100 --	..HHH	---
50	III	---	[H]	ΠΔΔΓ	---
	I	---	---	Δ[Δ]Δ	---
	I	---	---	Δ	---
	III	ΓH --	---	ΠΔΔΓ	---
	H	ΠΔ --	105 [HHH]	ΔΓH	---
55	I	HH --			
	III	ΓH --			
	III	ΓH --			
	I	III			
	I	HH --			
60	I	HH --			
	I	HH --			
	I	III			
	I	I			
	I	III			
65	I	II			
	I	III			
	I	III			
	--	---			
	--	---			
70	III	---			
	I	---			
	III	Δ --	120 --	---	

Column III

[. . . .] v
[. . . .] v
[φσί]αθος
[πέλ]εκυς
[τράπ]εζα
[....]αγαλ..
[....]
[ὄχσ]ος ἀμφο(ρεύς)
[οῖνο] ἀμφορεύς
[ὄχσ]ος ἀμφο(ρεύς)
[ὄχσο]ς ἀμφο(ρεύς)
[οῖνο] στάμνος
[οῖνο] στάμνος
οῖν[ο στά]μνος
οῖν[ο στάμ]νος

[illegible]

---	---	[κι]βότια τρία	---	Π[Δ]ΔΔΔ	κλῖναι μιλεσιουργέ[ς] ΔΙ
---	---	[κνέ]φαλλον πλέον	230	ΔΠ†	τράπεζαι ΙΙΙΙ
---	---	[κνέ]φαλλον πλέον	---	ΔΠ†	χάμεννα παράκολλος
---	---	[ἐπιβ]λέτια ΙΙΙΙ	---	ΔΙ	παρα[π]έτασμα [λιτ]όν
220	---	[ἐπιβλ]έτια ΙΙΙΙ	---	---	κλῖνε μιλεσιουργές ἀμφικέ-
---	---	[ἐπιβλέ]τια ΙΙΙΙ	---	---	φα[λος].
---	---	[ἐπιβλέ]τια ΙΙΙΙ	---	---	ἀλάβαστοι ΠΙ
---	---	[ἐπιβλέτι]α Π	235	---	δίφροι Π
---	---	---	---	.Η	[ἀ]νάκλισις
225	---	---	---	--- ΙΙΙ	καναύστρο
---	---	---	---	---	[κ]ά[ν]να.
---	---	κιβοτ[ὸς] δίθυ[ρος]	---	---	vacat
---	---	κιβοτὸς τετ[ράθυρος]			

Two fragments (*a* and *f*) preserve part of the original top of the stele. One fragment, *b*, shows an original left side. The original right side is preserved on three fragments, *f* and *h* (*bis*). One fragment, *e*, preserves an original bottom, and another, *h*, contains the last line of a column (IV).

On fragment *b*, which preserves the original left edge, when the stonecutter indented the sums, the list of proper names and the list of items, he arranged the list of items about 0.079 m. from the original left edge. For the sums and the proper names, he indented about 0.025 m. and 0.042 m. respectively from the left edge. When we come to place in the reconstructed stele fragment *a*, preserving the final letters of a column, which likewise included a sum, proper name, and list of items, we find that the required restorations will exhibit corresponding indentations for the respective elements of the text. Therefore, fragment *a*, which preserves the original top, is placed in the same column with fragment *b* at the upper left corner of the stele. This permits us to determine that the space required for the sales tax in Column I was 0.029 m., for the sales price 0.05 m., and for the list of items 0.175 m.

Fragment *a*, in turn, preserves the sales tax and the beginnings of the sales price for the items in Column II. The width of the column of the sales tax is 0.03 m. Now there is another fragment of the stele, *c*, which has a measurement of 0.032 m. for the sales tax. Because of this close correspondence, and because of the similarity in the line of fracture, I weighed the possibility that fragment *c* actually joins fragment *a*. A marble expert of the National Museum in Athens kindly examined the stones in position, and expressed the opinion that they probably did join. Later, however, when the stones were again brought together in the presence of several epigraphists, we agreed that the join was not certain. I have refrained from making this join of fragments *a* and *c*, because of the additional consideration that the sales tax does not align perfectly on the two pieces. The figures on fragment *c* begin 0.002 m. farther to the left. It seems more likely that the fragment came from the same column, indeed, but in a slightly lower position in the stele, which would permit this slight jog to the left in alignment, and it has been so placed in the reconstruction.

It may be mentioned here that Meritt suspected that the lower of the two pieces comprising fragment *a* actually joined another fragment, *b*.²⁷ He wrote that this join could not be considered certain, but that the two pieces might be so placed that there was a slight contact surface; the line of fracture along the bottom and sides of the pieces would suggest such a join. However, another, and a joining part of fragment *a* has since come to light, and it can be stated that the join with fragment *b* is physically impossible, since this upper piece of fragment *a* would occupy part of the space at the top of fragment *b*.²⁸

Fragment *c* gives us the width of the sales price of Column II, which is 0.065 m., and shows too that the list of items occupies more than 0.14 m., measuring to the right edge of the fragment.

It can be determined with reasonable certainty that Column III was narrower than the other columns of the stele. Fragment *e* preserves an original bottom and has accordingly been assigned to the bottom of this column. Just above it, and having a continuous text with it, has been placed fragment *d*. Fragment *d* is a rectangular piece with straight edges, which fits neatly into a recess at the upper right corner of fragment *e*. When the two pieces, *d* and *e*, are brought together so that there is a slight surface of contact—insufficient, however, to claim an actual join—the text of the first two items on fragment *e* is continued in the last two lines of fragment *d*, with a slight lacuna between. The width of the sales price of Column III can therefore be determined as 0.052 m., and the width of the list of items as 0.14 m. This latter measurement is made possible by the fact that fragment *d* preserves at its right edge the sales tax of Column IV.

The rightmost column of the stele, IV, has been reconstituted essentially in the manner described by Meritt in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 47-48.²⁹ Fragment *f*, having the original top and the original right side, must be placed in the upper right corner. Fragment *h*, consisting of two joining pieces, does not preserve the original bottom, but the space beneath the last preserved item is clearly uninscribed, and I assume that this was the last item on the stele. The only new piece to be added to this column since Meritt's work is fragment *g*, which preserves a long list of the single entry *ἰμάτιον*. Since the upper part of fragment *h* likewise has the item *ἰμάτιον* I have placed fragment *g* above fragment *h* and far enough above (seven lines) so that it will not overlap fragment *d* of Column III. The width of the sales price on fragment *h* at the bottom of the column is 0.05 m.; the width of the list of items is 0.21 m.

²⁷ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 386.

²⁸ Before it was realized that the upper piece of fragment *a* actually joined the lower part, the attempt had been made, in the presence of several epigraphists, to join *b* with the lower piece of *a*, but the possibility of such a join was rejected. This would make Column I 0.30 m. wide, considerably wider than the text requires and wider than any other column of Stelai I and II.

²⁹ Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 384.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Lines 10-11: The items which list the property of Hephaistodoros must have run over from an adjacent stele on to the top of our Stele I; for there was no heading at the top of Column I. The last numeral of the total is a half-obol sign. The only other use of a fractional amount occurs in line 119 of Stele VI, where the total is for rent. Since no fractional amount occurs in the sale of items, it seems likely that the total for Hephaistodoros included rental of property.

Line 14: The marks before the tau are not certain enough to permit a reading. One would imagine, because of the lack of a numeral, that the item is singular in number. Of the words in $\tau\alpha$ in Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, only $\phi\rho\epsilon\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$, *tank, cistern*, seems a possible restoration.

Line 18: Although the remainder of the $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ of Alkibiades (line 13) is lost, fragment *a* preserves enough uninscribed space from the right part of the column to show that the list contained short items.

Line 32: It has hitherto been generally assumed³⁰ that there is an error in the numeral for the total.³¹ The slave Pistos was sold for 202 drachmas, and the tax was 2 drachmas, 1 obol. The crops in line 29 sold for 42 drachmas and the tax has been restored as 3 obols. This gives 246 drachmas, 4 obols, whereas the total recorded on the stone is 247 drachmas, 1 obol. The error is in the figure for the sales tax in line 29, not in the sum in line 32. The figure for the sales tax in line 29 is lost, but it must be a drachma, not 3 obols, because enough of the surface of the stone is preserved near the left edge to show that only one numeral could have been inscribed. It seems certain, then, that a drachma was inscribed for the sales tax. This drachma represents an overcharge of 3 obols and has been discussed above on p. 229.

Lines 42, 45: There was not enough space in the column of the sales price to inscribe the final numeral; so the stonecutter placed it immediately above the last of the other numerals. On the analogy of these two examples, I have hypothesized that in line 71 of Stele II, where the preserved numerals at the top of the fragment occupy the entire width of the column of the sales price, but where this figure does not agree with our table on pp. 228-229, the remainder of the price was recorded in the line above, which is now lost.

Line 49: On the basis of reëxamination of this fragment, I have made corrections in the text for the numerals, here and in the lines above. In this line the sales tax is only one drachma, and the first numeral of the sales price is Ϟ . Some earlier editors have restored an H in front of the Ϟ , but the original surface of the stone is preserved here in an uninscribed state.³²

³⁰ Except by Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², p. 198.

³¹ Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, I, p. 128.

³² Cf. Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, I, no. 96; and Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², p. 198.

Line 70: The bottom tips of three obol signs which were not previously read can be seen at the top of the stone.

Line 92: The surface of the fragment which preserved this and the following fourteen lines is badly weathered and many of the letters are lost, while others are barely discernible. In the first letter space of this line, the weathered surface of the marble suggests the reading of a lambda, or, a little less likely, an iota. There seems to be an upright stroke with no horizontal stroke at the top. There is not sufficient evidence to permit the use of other than square brackets, but the restoration λέβης, *kettle*, has been tentatively suggested in line 92.

Line 95: In the fourth letter space, there seem to be distinct traces of a lambda. The letter has been dotted not because these traces favor any other letter, but because it is difficult to determine whether the traces are from weathering or from actual inscribing.

Line 99: I have reported the first letter of this unidentified item as a certain epsilon, for the vertical and upper two horizontal bars are preserved. In the next letter space there is the upper left corner of a letter which comprises an upright with a short, slightly curving stroke emanating from the top. The letter could be a beta or a rho, less likely an epsilon or pi.

Line 116: The stonecutter left the final omicron unfinished, in the form of a crescent.

Line 125: The restoration of the singular form *φορμός* in lines 125-136 and 138-139 has been made for two reasons: first, all of the items which can be tested in lines 113-124 just above in the column were sold in single containers or units; and secondly, in line 137 the singular form *φορμός* is preserved on the stone. Because of the importance of the sigma which lies at the edge of the fracture I have had this reading confirmed by Professor Vanderpool. The leftmost part of the sigma is sufficiently preserved to make out the parts of the four diagonal strokes.

Line 140: The crossbar of the alpha was omitted.

Line 158: After the letters alpha and mu which were read by Meritt,⁸³ there appears on a latex squeeze the lower left corner of a letter which must be an epsilon or beta. What is preserved of the horizontal stroke is straight, but only a small part remains. There seem to be two possibilities for the restoration of this line. First, it may contain the name of a long entry such as occurs in line 233 below, where the entry was 27 letters in length. The second possibility is to restore the demotic [Σκ]αμβ[ονίδο] and the line might be filled out with the name (28 letters) of Alkiades. This would require the name to begin three letter spaces to the left of the list of items, which is a normal arrangement in Column I of this stele. Since there is good reason to believe, from the evidence of Pollux, who expressly names several of

⁸³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 34.

the items as belonging to Alkibiades, that the items at the bottom of this column did indeed form part of the property of Alkibiades, the restoration is not at all unlikely.

Line 160: The lacuna near the end of this entry requires two letter spaces, not one, as stated in previous publications. Of the letter in front of this lacuna, an upright stroke is preserved. It can hardly be an iota for the letter is very close to the preceding one. A pi seems the most likely letter, but an epsilon is possible, if it be assumed that the middle horizontal hasta did not quite touch the vertical stroke, as is the case with an epsilon in line 168. The restoration ἀμπέχονον ἐρεοῦν is offered *exempli gratia*, on the assumption that the entry was a noun followed by an adjective.

Line 161: In the sixth letter space of this word there is preserved at the top of the line the horizontal stroke of what would normally be considered part of a tau, for it is a straight line. There is no angle to the stroke and it cannot be read as a normal upsilon, as has previously been suggested. Because of the difficulties afforded by this reading, I have asked the opinion of Professor Vanderpool, who concurs in this description of the stroke. It cannot be an epsilon, for the original surface is preserved below uninscribed where the second hasta would fall. Epigraphically I feel the letter must be reported as a tau, although the combination of letters is difficult.

Line 189: Above the entry of this line at least ten lines of the inscribed space are flaked away.

Lines 199-201: The entry for these three lines, ἰμάτιον, has been placed in square brackets because all of the inscribed surface is lost. There can be little doubt, however, about the original text, for the letters have been etched into the surface beneath and distinct traces are visible.

Lines 201 ff.: The lacuna between fragments *f* and *h* has been determined by giving to fragment *f* the lowest possible position in which the stone will not overlap fragment *d* of Column III.

Line 209: In the line just above, previous editors, misled perhaps by the line of fracture, have read an epsilon, which is not visible, and since the stone has suffered no mutilation here, I have rejected it from the text. There is a possibility, therefore, that the entry ἰμάτιον was inscribed in the lines between fragments *g* and *h*.

Line 209-212: The names of the list of items for these lines are found on fragment *h*, whereas the sales tax is found on fragment *d*. But it should be stated, I feel, that the sales tax cannot with certainty be used as an indication as to the relative price of the items. The correspondence of lines has been made on the assumption that Columns III and IV contained exactly the same number of lines, and our text has been made by counting upward from the last line of both columns. Column IV, although it preserves the last entry of the column, does not have the original bottom of the stele. In the light of the many physical irregularities in the various stelai, it is by no means a positive assumption that the last column had a line-for-line correspondence with the column to its left.

Lines 220 ff.: On the evidence of the stone, slight corrections have been made in the *editio minor* text of lines 220, 223, 229, 236, and 238.

II. Nineteen fragments of a fine to medium grain, very light gray marble. Two fragments have received previous publication; photographs of these two will be found in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 383 and 385 (fragments *d* and *e* respectively). Plates 70 and 71 show the obverse and reverse of the reconstructed stele.

(a) Eight joining fragments, preserving the original top, left side, and back of the stele. The fragment at the upper left corner of the stele was found in a Turkish fill in Section BB on March 2, 1939. Below this piece is a small fragment which was found in the wall of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II on March 7, 1938. The third, and a larger, fragment continuing the remainder of the text of Column I was found in the same wall of the Church of Hypapanti on the following day, March 8. To the right of the center of this fragment is a small piece found in a house in Section ΘΘ on December 30, 1936. This is joined at the right by a larger piece which was found in an adjacent house in the same section on January 17, 1937. To the right of this piece, in turn, is a fragment found in a late wall in Section II on April 23, 1937. The large fragment containing the text of the lower part of Column II was found in the modern wall of a house in Section BB on May 13, 1939. This piece is joined at the bottom by a small fragment of six lines which was found in a Byzantine or Turkish fill in Section BB on May 4, 1939.

Height (as joined), 0.865 m.; width, 0.685 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *d* and *x*.

(b) Three joining fragments, preserving the original left side. The upper piece was found in the wall of a house in Section ΘΘ on January 18, 1937. The small piece to the right was found in the wall of a neighboring house in the same section on December 18, 1936. The large piece below was removed from the wall of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II on March 7, 1938.

Height (as joined), 0.33 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *c* + *f*.

(c) (Plate 73). Fragment preserving the original top and back, found in a house in Section BB on October 7, 1938.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *s*.

(d) Found in 1934 in Section O. Published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 384-386, with photograph on p. 385. *S.E.G.*, X, p. 108. This fragment preserves the original back. Inv. No. I 2040.

(e) Found in the wall of a house in Section K in 1934. Published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 382-386, with photograph on p. 383. *S.E.G.*, X, pp. 107-8.

Inv. No. I 236 *b*. A photograph of the original back of this fragment is given on Plate 72.

(*f*) Fragment, preserving the original bottom and back, found in the east wall of the Church of Hypapanti on March 14, 1938.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *n*.

(*g*) (Plate 73). Found in the wall of a house in Section BB on September 28, 1938. The original back is preserved.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.263 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *r*.

(*h*) Two joining fragments, preserving the original back. The upper and smaller piece was found in a modern fill in Section ΘΘ on May 12, 1937. The larger piece was found in the wall of a house in Section II on November 9, 1936.

Height (as joined), 0.105 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *g*.

(*i*) (Plate 75). Fragment preserving the original bottom found in the wall of a house in Section BB on September 27, 1938.

Height, 0.355 m.; width, 0.274 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *q*.

The height of letters is 0.008 m. One line occupies a vertical space of 0.011 m. Five letters, excluding iota, occupy a horizontal space of 0.042-0.052 m.

STELE II

Column I

---	---	τριπτέρε II	---	[.]†	Ἐρετρ[ι]κοί IIII
---	---	σιπύε	20 ---	[.]	Χίο[ι.]
[III]	ΠI	ἔτεροι III	---	[.]	π[α]ναθENAΐK(οί) II
[II]I	Π†II	κάρδοπος		[.]†[II]I	ἄλμος
5		λιθίνε			χσύλινος
[I]	IIII	σιπύε	---	[.]†††II	ὄνος ἀλετόν
[I]	††I	κλίνε ἐχσ-	25 [III]	Π†††IIII	ἄλμος λί-
		ερρογῦα			θινος
[I]	††	κάρδοπος	III	Π†††III	κλῖμαχς
10		κεραμεία	[I]	†!	[κλῖ]μᾶχς
---	[.]†IIII	κάρδοπος	30		---
		λιθίνε			---
---	[.]†IIII	θύρα διά-			ὑπο[σταθμὸν]
		πριστος	[I]	†III	καρδόπο
15 [III]	[Δ]Δ†††	θύρα συν-			κατεαγός
		δρομάδε	35 [I]II	Π†III	ὑποσταθμὸν
[I]	[†]I	σιπύα II			καρδόπο
		ἀμφορέ[ς]			κατεαγνίας

	I	HHIII	κίστε οἰσύν<ε>	[III]		
	[I]II	ΔI	φάτνε	HH	HHΔΠ	Σκῶνυς
40	[I]II	ΠI	χσυνλίν[ε]			οἰκογενὲς
			ἀμφορῆς	HHI	HHΔΔΔ	τραπεξοποιό[ς]
			παναθηναῖκοί Δ	75		Ἀλεχσίτιμο[ς]
	I	HHH	ἀμφορῆς			οἰκο<γ>ενὲς
			παναθηναῖκοί Δ	[H]HH	HHHΠΔ	ὀνελάτες
45	[I]II	ΠHI	ἀμφορῆς			Ποταίνιος Κὰρ
			παναθηναῖκοί Δ			χρυσσοχὼς
	[I]	HHHHIII	ἀμφορῆς	III		
			παναθηναῖκοί Δ	[H]HH	HHHΔ	Πολυχσ[έ]νε
	[I]II	ΠH	ἀμφορῆς	80		Μακεδόν
50			παναθηναῖκοί Δ	[I]II	ΔΔΔΔ	ἐπικαρπί[α]
		<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>	[II]I	ΔΔHH	ἐμ Μυλαιεῦσι
	---	[. . .]!III	παναθηναῖκοί Δ	85		σῦκ[α· σ]ταφυλαί
			ἀμφορῆς			ἐλαῖαι
55		[^{ca.} ±]II	παναθηναῖκοί Δ	[I]II	ΔΔ	ἄχυνρα καὶ ἔια
			ἀμφορῆς			ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγρ[οί]
	----	----	παναθηναῖκοί Δ	90		ἐμ Πλατανροῖς
			[ἀμ]φορῆς			σταφυλαί· σῦκα
			[πα]ναθηναῖκοί [Δ]			ἐλαῖαι
	----	----	[ἀμφο]ρῆς	[H]H	HHΠΔ	ἐν Ἐρετρίαι
60			[παναθ]εναῖκοί [Δ]			ὀρόβον φορμοί ΠI
						φακὼν φορμός I
						πυρὼν φορμοί ΔΠ
						κρι[θ]όν
						μέ[διμ]νος
70			Θ[ρ]ᾶιχ[ς]	95	ΔΔΔ	-----
				[III]		ἐπι[καρπία]

lacuna of at least 9 lines

Column II

	-----	115	[. . . ⁵ . . . μέ]διμνοι Δ
	-----		[. . . ⁷ . . .]ν· λέκος
100	-----		[ῥχ]σος [στ]άμνοι III
	. . . ⁶ . . . οκο II		[έ]λαδν σ[τ]άμνοι IIII
	. . . ⁶ . . . s		[π]τέο II· θρ[ί]νακε<ς> IIII
	[κάρδοπ]ος	120	ὀκίστια [Δ]I
	[κεραμ]εῖα		στροτῆρε[ς] ΔΔΠIII
	lacuna		κεράμο στέ[ρ]ας II
105	[τ]ρ[ίβον]		στερὼς ξεγκ[τε]ρί(α)
	[τ]ρίβ[ον]		γέρρα III γαλε[άγρ]α
	τρίβο[ν]	125	σκαλίδες III
	τρίβον		τόρος· καρκίνο[ς?]
	τρίβον		πέδε καὶ ἄχσον
110	τρίβ[ον]		δρέπανον
	τρ[ίβον]		ἀμπελοργόν
	π-----	130	σμινύαι Δ
	lacuna		II
	[-----]ς IIII		δίκελλαι III· τρυνπ[άν(ο)]
	[-----] <i>vacat</i>		ὀβελίσκοι ΠI ----

	κρεάγρα Π		ΙΛ---
	σύκον φορμοί ! [Π --]	lacuna	
135	λίτρο σαργάνα [---]		
	σεσάμο ἀπλύτο		
	ἐμισάκιον		
	χέρχινον ἐμισά[κιον]	155	---
	μελινὸν ἐμισά[κιον]		---
140	ἀμνυδαλὸν φορμ[οί --]		---
	κοριάννο φορμ[οί --]		---
	κάδο πιττίνο		---
	τελίαι ΔΠΙΙ	160	---
	σκιάδειον σ[μικρ(όν)]		---
145	βάθρα Π·θρόν[οι --]		---
	δίφρος· ε[---]		---
	[...]ο[...] ^v		ἐν τ[οι]---
	[ἀ]σκέρα		ΙΙΙΙ .. ΘΑ!
	[τ]ράπεζ[α]	165	---
150	[κ]λιντέ[ρ]		---
	[δ]έσμε σ[---]		---

Column III

	-----		ΙΙΙ	ΠΙΠ	----- ΙΙΙΙ
	^v λ [. . .] α		Ι	Π	[. . .] σιδερά
170	[κε]φάλα[ι]ον τὸν Πα-		Ι	Π	[. . .] παραστόμα
	[ν]αιτίο Η[Η]ΗΠΔΔΔΔ ---		Ι	Π	[λνχ]γείο
	ἐκ τὸν Νικίδο	200	Ι	Π	[χσ]υλίνο ΙΙ
	ΜΗΠΠΙΙΙ μισθ[όσεις] ἀπενέν --				[χ]όναι ΔΙΙ
	χθε[σαν τὸ]ν ποτα --				<i>vacat</i>
175	μὲν [. . .] τον κΓ --				<i>vacat</i>
	κεφάλαιον ἐκ τὸν Νικί[δο]				[Α]μνκλαΐδια
	ΠΧΜ .. Οἰονίο τὸ Ἀτενεί[ος ---]	205			[π]αλαιά
	ἐπικαρπία ἐλ[λ] Δε<λ>ά[ντοι ---]				[κρ]επίδια
	[κεφάλ]α[ι]ον [ἐ]κ τὸν Οἰονίο				[. . .] ια
180	[. . .] Πολ[υ]στράτο τὸ				---
	[Διοδ]όρο Ἀγκυλείος				---
	[. .] ΜΗΗΗ ἀργυρίο κατε[βλέθεσαν ---]	210			---
	[Εὐ]ρυμάχο τὸ Εὐ[---]				---
	lacuna of 16 lines				---
	λον				-----
185	τῆι ἀσεβ[εῖαι -- περὶ τὰ μυστ]				-----
	έρια <i>vacat</i>	215			... ⁶ ... <i>vacat</i>
	[<i>vacat</i>]				[προσκ]εφάλαια
	Φ[αῖδρο τὸ Πυθοκλέος]				[σκούτι]να ΠΙ
	Μυρ[ρυνοσίο]				[κνέ]φαλλον
190	ΙΙΙ ΔΠΠΠ				[κν]έφαλλον
	ΙΙΙ ΠΙ	220			[φ]σῖαθοι ΠΙ
	Ι ΠΠΠ				τραπέζα ΙΙ
	Ι ΠΠΠ				τραπέζα
	^v ΠΠΠ				δίφρος
195	Ι ΠΠΠ				ὑπερα ΙΙΙ

225	[I]	IIII	δόρνυ ἄνευ στύρακ(ος)	235	--	--	[. . .] ἐπίκλιν-
	[I]	IIIIII	δοράτιον		--	--	[τ]ρον· θρόνος
	--	.II	δίφρος		--	--	κριθὸν φορμοί ΔΙ
	--	.HI	σανίς		--	[. .]II	ὄνος ἀλετόν
	--	--	κάρδοπος		[III]	ΠHI	ὄνος ἀλετόν
230	<i>vacat</i>		κεραμε[ία]	240	[I]	III	ἀ[μ]φορῆς κ[ε]νοί ΔΔΙ
--	--		κάρδοπ[ος]		III	ΠHI	κλίνε
	<i>vacat</i>		λιθίνε		III	ΠHI	τράπεζα
--	--		λοτ[έριον]		<i>vacat</i>		τετ[ρ]ά[π]ος
	[<i>vacat</i>]		[λ]ίθ[ινον]	245	[I]II	ΠHI	κλ[ί]νε μ[ι]λεσιον γές
					[. .]I	. . ΔΔHI	κλίνα[ι] ΠII
					[I]	III	χαλχί[ο]ν
							<i>vacat</i> 0.1 m.

lacuna

Column IV

			lacuna	270	I	---
			[ἐν τῷ χοροῖοι τῷ Φ]αλέ<ρ>οι		I	---
			<i>vacat</i>			
			<i>vacat</i>			
			<i>vacat</i>			
250			φιδάκναι ἀχόν<ι>δες		I	[-----]
			ΔΔ ἀμφορέον ΗΗΔΔΔΔ			<i>vacat</i>
			ἐν τῷ χοροῖοι τῷ Φαλέροι		III	Δ-----
			χάρακες ΜΗΗ	275		<i>vacat</i>
255			λενὸς λιθίνε		III	ΔΠ---
			ἐν τῷ χοροῖοι τῷ Φαλέρ<ο>ι			<i>vacat</i>
			<i>vacat</i>		III	Π---
			<i>vacat</i>		III	Π---
			[χ]άρακες Μ [---]	280	III	Δ---
					III	---
					III	---
			lacuna			
260	III	Δ---				
	v	v				
	I	ΠΔ---				
	I	HI---				
	I	HI---				
265	I	HI				
	I	HI---				
	III	ΠI---				
	I	HI---				
	I	I				

270 I ---
I ---

lacuna of 13 lines

I [-----]
vacat
III Δ-----
275 *vacat*
III ΔΠ---
vacat
III Π---
III Π---
280 III Δ---
III ---
III ---

lacuna

I ΠI ---
v v I ---
285 III ΔHIHI χσ---
III ΔHI χσ---
v v κ---
III [Δ]Δ χ---
-- . . I σ---
290 -- . ΠHI o---
-- . . III ----

Column V

			lacuna		III	
			IIII HH---			πα[---]
			<i>vacat</i> --			ἀγ[----]
			<i>vacat</i> --			
295			ἐν [----]	300	III	<i>vacat</i>
			κα[ι]---			κε[φάλαιον] --

is 0.137 m. which corresponds exactly to the measurement for the corresponding text of Column III on fragment *a* above. Fragment *e* has been placed as high in the column as physically possible because the line of fracture on its upper left surface seems to continue that running downward from right to left on fragment *a*. In any case, it is physically impossible for the first preserved line of fragment *e* to be higher than the position assigned to it in the text on p. 252.

Fragment *f*, preserving the original bottom of the stele, has been assigned to the end of Column III because the measurements of the space required for the sales tax and the sales price (0.017 m. and 0.05 m. respectively) are identical on this fragment with those in Column III of fragment *a* above.

To Column IV has been assigned fragment *g*. In this fragment, the plane of foliation of the calcite crystals dips to the upper left. As explained above (p. 235), this means that the fragment must be placed in the upper part of the stele. With fragment *a* occupying the upper part of Column I, and fragment *c* the upper part of Columns II and III, it is physically impossible for our fragment to be placed in any of these columns. Column V too is eliminated because fragment *g* does not exhibit on its back any trace of the recessed border, which must have run down the back on the right edge.

Fragment *h* too has been placed on the basis of geological considerations, for here the plane of foliation dips to the bottom left, and the fragment must come from the lower part of the stele. Furthermore, it must be in Column IV or V because the space required for the sales tax (0.017 m.) and sales price (0.053 m.) is 0.070 m. in width which is slightly greater than the space required for the corresponding items in Columns I, II, and III. Tentatively, it has been placed in Column IV.

There remains the small fragment *d*, which preserves no numerals but only a small part of the text of items. No determining measurement can be made on this small piece, and accordingly it must be left unassigned. There is, however, one geological factor which requires that the piece be placed in the upper part of the stele: the plane of foliation is the same as that found in the upper forty lines of the stele, so this piece must go somewhere in the upper part of Columns II to V. The text of Column III makes it seem unlikely that this fragment would go there; but no choice can be made between the other columns.

With fragment *f* assigned to the bottom of Column III, the only positions left for fragment *i*, which preserves an original bottom, would be at the end of Column II or Column V. This must be explained. If placed in Column I, the left part of the fragment would extend beyond the limits of the stele. If placed in Column IV, the stone would overlap fragment *f*. Furthermore, because it does not carry the deeply recessed border which runs along the back of the left side, it cannot be placed in Column II. Within the area of the recessed border, which is 0.75 m. wide, the thickness of the stele was 0.075 m. The thickness of the left edge of fragment *i*, however,

is 0.085 m., and furthermore, it exhibits no trace of the close-picked dressing of this border. By placing our fragment in such a position that the first seven lines align with the entries of Column II, we find that 0.025 m. of the left part of the fragment would fall within the recessed area. Accordingly, the fragment must be placed in Column V.

It should be mentioned that although fragment *i* has the same geological structure as the other fragments in the lower part of Stele II, including fragment *f*, its inclusion in this stele is not as secure as that of the other fragments. For one reason, the original back of this fragment is preserved if at all in only a very small area. Secondly, the bottom line on this fragment, which is the last line of a column, is not in horizontal alignment with the last line of Column III, preserved on fragment *f*. Moreover, if fragment *i* is placed in Column V of Stele II, Column IV must have been entirely uninscribed in its lower part; the blank space can be seen in the photograph (Plate 70). However, there is a slightly raised band along the bottom of fragments *f* and *i*. It can be clearly seen in the photograph of fragment *i* (Plate 75); there is only a trace on fragment *f* because the stone is badly worn away at this point.

In weighing the evidence, there did not seem to be any other stele to which fragment *i* could be assigned, and it has indeed many points in common with the sure fragments of this stele, including the script, the raised band, and the geological structure. This fragment must belong either to Stele II or to another stele of which no other parts remain. This latter alternative, particularly because of the dissymmetry of the arrangement of the text at the end of Columns IV and V, must be regarded as a distinct possibility.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 3: Since this is masculine plural, and the preceding item is feminine, it seems necessary to refer the gender to line 1.

Lines 6-7: Enough uninscribed space is preserved to the left of the sales price to permit the determination that there was only one numeral for the tax.

Lines 7-8: For the form *ἐξεργωγῶα*, cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 59.

Line 25: Both here and in line 38, the stonecutter left space between the signs for the first and second obols, whereas normally the obol signs are inscribed very close together. These vertical strokes might possibly be incomplete drachma signs in which the horizontal strokes were omitted.

Line 28: In the sales price column, the upper parts of two vertical strokes are preserved. The spacing seems to require that the first be part of a drachma sign. In the line above, a *κλῖμαξ* sold for 8 drachmas, 3 obols. The lower price of the second ladder might be explained by assuming that it was broken, and that this was stated in the line below, where the inscribed surface is lost. For other items in this column which are named as being broken, see lines 8, 34, 37.

Line 32: The upsilon is preserved beginning at the bottom of the line up to a point just above where the two diagonal lines join. The third letter can only be an omicron or a theta. The bottom of the vertical stroke in the second letter space is so placed as to allow the reading of a pi. The restoration *ὑποσταθμόν* seems indicated by its appearance in a similar context three lines below. The Attic participial form *κατεαγός* requires a masculine or neuter noun, whereas *καρδόπον* in line 33 is feminine and in the genitive case. The price is usually in the first line of the entry, but it appears here in the second line. There is space for only one numeral in the sales tax column, and it must accordingly have been one obol.

Line 38: In the final letter space of the line, the stonecutter inscribed the vertical stroke of the epsilon but failed to add the three horizontal hastas. In the figures for the sales price, the spacing suggests that what now appears as the first obol sign may have been intended to be made a drachma sign.

Line 51: The entire line, including the sales tax, the sales price, and the word *ἀμφορῆς*, was left uninscribed.

Line 70: Physical considerations prevent the first line of fragment *b* being placed any higher in Column I than line 70; for the right edge of the fragment would then overlap the surface of fragment *a* in Column II. Fragment *b* may, of course, be placed several lines lower. Line 60 of Column I listed amphoras; after the lacuna of nine or more lines, fragment *b* resumes Column I with a list of slaves who are described by occupation and place of birth.

Θ[ρ]αιχ[s] has been restored as the ethnic of the slave. In the list of slaves below, the ethnic was the last entry (line 80), or preceded the profession when that was given. In the first letter space is preserved the lower half of a circular letter which can be read only as a theta or as an omicron. The third letter is clearly an alpha. In the fourth letter space there is the base of an upright stroke which is centered above the nu of the line below. To the right, in the fifth letter space, a chi would seem to be clear, but some mortar, which could not be cleaned from the stone without damage, still adheres to this part, and the chi cannot be regarded as certain. It must be mentioned, however, that the markings in the second letter space seem to favor a delta, for two strokes comprising the left corner of a triangular letter are preserved. These markings have been considered as fortuitous: the reading of a delta does not permit the restoration of any known ethnic or occupation. There are other chance markings as deep as the incised letters on the surface of this fragment.

Line 71: To the name *Σκῶνυς* may be compared *Bîθυς* and *Γῆρυς*, both the names of Thracian slaves mentioned in Attic inscriptions.³⁴ The value of the Attic omicron is uncertain.

³⁴ M. Lambertz, "Die griechischen Sklavennamen," *Jahresbericht über das K. K. Staatsgymnasium im VIII. Bezirke Wiens*, 58, 1908, Teil II, pp. 25-26.

Line 77: For the adjective *ποταίνιος*, *fresh*, *new*, used as a slave name, comparison may be made with the list of names similarly derived from adjectives, collected by Lambertz (*op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.).

Line 82: *Μυλαιεύς* is new and may be connected with *μυλαῖος*, *working in a mill*, and *μυλαῖον*, *mill*. Buck and Petersen state “—*εύς* designates a locality as covered with or characterized by something, e. g. *δοκανεύς* ‘thicket of reeds’: *δόναξ*, *Πλατανεύς*, name of a river with many plane trees on its bank (: *πλάτανος*).”³⁵ Our locality was characterized by, and thus took its name from, its population of millers.

Line 87: *Πλατανρος*, as *Μυλαιεύς* above in line 82, is hitherto unknown. The word here designates a locality where trees and vines were grown. The etymology is obscure. *πλατ-* must surely be related to *πλατύς* and mean *flat*, *level*, referring to the ground where the things grow. It would be tempting to see in the second part a root cognate with Latin *arvum*, Greek *ἄρουρα*. But this apparently would require an etymology assuming a metathesis of digamma.³⁶

Lines 103-4: The restored text of these two lines has been used above in determining the position of fragment c. See p. 254.

Line 113: All that remains of the name of the item is a final sigma. After it, and almost crowding into the epsilon of the next column, there are preserved traces of three upright strokes, indicating the number of the item.

Line 119: After the theta in the sixth letter space, the base of an upright stroke is preserved. To the right of the fracture, and in the right part of the letter space, there is a vertical stroke and the weathering favors a nu. The last three letters (*ακε*) are certain and *θρ[ί]νακε<s>* has been restored in the text. If the form is singular, there is an error of number, for there were four items sold. The form *θρινάκη* is known from Callimachus, Fr. 46 P. Alternatively, there is the omission of a sigma from the plural form *θρίνακες*. Since *θρίναξ* is far more common in the literature, I have preferred the second alternative.

Line 120: All of the letters of this entry are clear except that of the next to last letter space, where I assume a numeral was inscribed. The word *ὀκίστια* is new in Greek. It occurs here in a list of farm implements and the word may be defined as a harrow. There are in Latin the cognates *occa*, *harrow*, and *occare*, *to harrow*, and other cognates are known in Germanic and Baltic.³⁷ No sure cognates have hitherto been known in Greek. On the evidence of our item, it seems reasonable to reconstruct a verb, **ὀκίζειν*, *to harrow*, and a noun, **ὀκιστής*, *the man who does the harrowing*, with which the tool, *ὀκίστιον*, would be connected.

Line 122: The last two letters of this line are alpha and sigma; because of the

³⁵ *Reverse Index*, p. 27. Compare E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 477.

³⁶ For *ἄρουρα*, see E. Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 475.

³⁷ See Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*³, p. 810; and Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etymolog. Wörterbuch*³, II, pp. 197-198.

weathered surface of the marble, I have had this reading confirmed by E. Vanderpool. Of known Greek words, *σθηρα* seems the only possibility for completing the text. This word appears only in Hesychius where it is defined as *τὰ λίθινα πρόθυρα*. Hesychius regularly defines a word in the same number and case as the word itself, but the common plural use of *πρόθυρα* (Aristoph., *Eccl.*, 709, *Vespae*, 802; Homer, *Od.* I, 103) may explain the use of the plural. *Σθηρα* has hitherto been regarded as neuter plural.⁸⁸ If the word is read in our text, however, it must be regarded as a feminine noun of the first declension. Of the two numeral signs there are only traces.

Line 123: After the upsilon in the ninth letter space of the line, the base of an upright stroke is preserved to the height of *ca.* 0.0025 m. This stroke, then, cannot be part of an Attic gamma, as one might expect from the frequency of words beginning with *ζευγ* —. In the text the word *ζευκτηρία* has been suggested. It occurs in the *Acts of the Apostles* 27.40 with the meaning of “yoke,” and would be suitable in the middle of a list of farm implements. An upright stroke is preserved in the eighth letter space of this word, and to the left are the weathered traces of a rho. Attention should be called to the fact that the upright stroke could also be read as a drachma sign, if the context permitted, for there is a long horizontal stroke coming off from the right. This stroke is here regarded as fortuitous. The final alpha was omitted to prevent crowding, as in line 21. If *ζευκ[τε]ρί(α)* is read, the qualifying adjective *στερεός*, commonly of three endings, was here of two terminations. Compare, e. g., *στερρός*, *firm*, *hard*, usually of three endings, but in Euripides, *Hec.* 296, a two-termination adjective.

Line 127: *πέδη* is defined in Liddell-Scott-Jones as *fetter*, *anklet*, and in the plural, *shackles*. In our context, I would suggest that *πέδη* may be a kind of brake which operates by friction against the axle (*ἄξων*).

Line 131: There is space for only two letters after the pi of *τρυνπάνω*; so I assume the word was abbreviated. The number of the item was inscribed in the line above.

Line 134: What is read as the numeral one at the end of the preserved portion may have been a Γ. Only the lower half of the horizontal stroke is preserved.

Line 138: For the doubling of the aspirate, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, pp. 102-103.

Lines 140-141: *φορμοί* has been restored in the plural number in these two lines. The singular is also possible.

Line 144: the lacuna between the last preserved sigma and the sales tax of Column III can be estimated at 0.04 m. This would permit four letters of normal spacing. *σκιάδειον σ[μικρ(όν)]* has been restored, but it is possible the sigma is the first letter, not of a qualifying adjective, but of a separate item.

⁸⁸ See Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, p. 325.

Line 146: Part of a carelessly incised epsilon is preserved one letter space to the right of *δίφρος*. This letter is not in perfect alignment with *δίφρος* and may be an intrusion from Column III.

Line 147: The bottom loop of a circular letter, omicron or theta, is preserved in the fourth letter space of this line.

Line 148: The item in this line has been interpreted as *ἀσκέρα*, a winter shoe with fur lining, although it may seem out of place, in the midst of articles of furniture. Hesychius preserves the otherwise unattested word *ἀσκηρά*, meaning some kind of chestnut, and our item, if made of chestnut wood, may be a derivative of this word.

Line 163: Above the entry *εντ* —, there is a long dividing line of which 0.012 m. is preserved, marking the end of the preceding section as in No. X, lines 5, 13, etc.

Line 168: Fragment *c* contains a summary, first by the geographical location of the property and second, by the names of the Hermokopidai who owned property in each place. The geographical headings were inscribed in lines 168-169, 173-175, and 178. Under the first heading occur the names of Panaitios and Nikides; under the second, the names of Nikides and Oionias, and under the third, the names of Oionias, Polystratos, Eurymachos, and possibly others. The first heading is lost, the third is clearly *ἐπικαρπία* in the Lelantine plain.

Lines 177 and 181: For the genitive ending in *-ειος*, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 45; and Lademann, *De titulis atticis*, Kirchhoff, 1915, p. 95.

Line 178: The stonecutter inscribed three lambdas in a row and then omitted the second lambda of *Ληλάντῳ*.

Line 223: Enough of the original surface is preserved to determine that the sales price for this *δίφρος* contained only one numeral. The base of an upright stroke is preserved, and the numeral is almost certainly an obol sign. If the price were a drachma or five drachmas, other traces would probably be preserved.

Line 225: What has been read as the third obol of the sales tax in this line is a fortuitous stroke cut deeper than the numerals and apparently at the same time as the similar marks above the sales price of the line above and in other places on this fragment. The shading in the photograph published in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 383, gives a false impression.

Line 227: The sales price of this item has been read as [I]II. But the first preserved obol sign is directly beneath the second drachma sign in the line above. Since two obols occupy the space of a drachma sign, the alternative texts here are most probably [II]II or [†]II.

Line 230: The reading *κεραμ[κέ]* of *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 383, line 18, has been corrected to *κεραμ[εία]*. The epsilon is clear on the stone. The stonecutter used the same spelling for this word in line 10.

Lines 235-236: The reading *ἐπικλίν|τρον* was made only after a search for many

combinations of letters, including possible compounds with *θρόνος* (line 236).³⁹ So many letters of the word are only partially preserved that the epigraphical evidence is presented in detail. Of the first letter, only the horizontal base remains; the letter could be a delta, an epsilon, or a zeta. Of the second letter, there is only the lower part of the left vertical stroke, but the fact that space to the right of this stroke is uninscribed suggests that the letter is a pi or a rho. The fourth letter preserves the upper part of a vertical stroke in a position which almost requires the reading of a kappa. In the second space of line 236, the base of a vertical stroke is so placed as to suggest a pi or a rho.

Line 240: Enough of the surface is preserved to permit the conclusion that the sales tax was only an obol.

Line 246: For the double aspiration in *χαλχίον*, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, pp. 102-104.

Line 251: the form *ἄχωνδες* is difficult. A stem in *-νδ-* is practically impossible. Since the word is a modifier of *φιδάκναι*, it must, as a feminine, be a two-termination adjective. Accordingly, I would assume that an iota was omitted from the form *ἄχώνιδες*, and that our word is a two-termination adjective of the consonant declension, for which there are numerous parallels.⁴⁰ The word *ἄχωνις* could be related to the verbs *χωνεύω* and *κωνάω*, to coat jars with pitch, and to the adjectives *ἄκώνητος*, unpitched, *ἄχώνευτος*, not coated with pitch, and *ἄχώνητος*.⁴¹ The meaning of our adjective will likewise be *uncoated with pitch*.

Line 279: What was read as an obol sign for the sales price in the original publication (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 382, line 33) was rightly corrected to the sign for five drachmas in *S.E.G.*, X, 241.

Line 280: The delta of the sales price is certain.

Line 283: The second numeral of the sales price may be either a drachma or an obol.

Line 308: the most likely word to be restored in this line is *χοάνη* (*χώνη*).

Lines 311-314: These lines contain a summary of the property of Oionias, which, judging from the lack of sales prices in the lines above, must have been sold collectively.

Line 314: The vertical strokes under the deltas of the first numerals of this line, which indicate that the figures stand for talents, are faint but unmistakable. Professor Vanderpool has kindly confirmed the reading.

³⁹ Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, p. 281.

⁴⁰ See Kühner-Blass, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, pp. 546-547; and Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, pp. 507 ff.

⁴¹ The definitions are from Liddell-Scott-Jones. For *ἄχώνευτος*, see their *addenda et corrigenda*, p. 2056.

III. (Plate 74). Fragment of a medium grained, light greenish gray marble found in the top of a well in Section BB on May 10, 1939. The foliation of the calcite grains dips to the upper left about 25°. This dip of foliation is similar to that of the upper part of Stele II, but is quite dissimilar to that of the lower part. There are no accessory minerals. The original back is preserved.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.114 m. Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 236 y.

One line occupies a vertical space of 0.011 m. Five letters occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.042 m. in line 8.

STELE III

--	Η	---	10	I	ΗΙΙΙΙ	ὄλμ[ος]
[ΙΙΙ]	Π	---		I	Η	βάθ[ρον]
[I]	Η	---		I	ΗΗΙ	σμ[ινύε]
[I]	ΗΙΙ	---		ΙΙΙ	ΠΗΗΙΙ	κά[δος]
5 [I]	ΗΙΙΙ	I---		I	ΗΙ	στ[άμνος]
ΙΙΙ	ΠΗΗΗ	κλι[νίδιον]	15	ΙΙΙ	ΠΗΙ	---
ΙΙΙ	ΠΗ	κλινί[διον]		I	ΙΙΙ	---
I	ΙΙ	σκήμπ[ος]				
I	ΙΙ	ἐσχά[ρα]				
					<i>vacat</i>	
					<i>vacat</i>	

This one fragment seems to be the only preserved piece of a stele of the same thickness and presumably the same size, as Nos. I and II. The script of No. III appears to be the same as Nos. I, II, and IV. The fragment has not been connected with any other stele because of the geological structure of the marble, the deepness of the incised letters, and the distinct dressing on the back. Agora workmen, skilled in marble and sculpture, have concurred in the latter determination. This fragment has weathered as much as other fragments, but the inscribed surface is rough and quite different in appearance. The back was carefully dressed, but the pattern of the dressing, with long narrow lines made by the edge of the chisel, is quite distinct from that of Nos. I and II. A photograph of the back of this fragment is given on Plate 74.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 7: In the fifth letter space, the base of a vertical stroke is preserved with no horizontal stroke extending from it. The letter, then, cannot be epsilon. Of the two possibilities, tau or iota, the latter seems slightly preferable because the vertical stroke was inscribed very close to the preceding letter. Κλινίδιον or κλινίς, rather than κλιντήρ, seem likely restorations.

Line 12: In place of σμ[ινύη], *hoe* or *mattock*, σμίλη, *carving knife* (modern Greek, *chisel*) might be restored.

Line 14: Only the left horizontal tip of the tau is preserved, but no other letter seems possible.

It may be noted that all of the entries in this fragment have tentatively been restored in the singular number pending a study of the various items.

IV. (Plate 75). Four fragments of a fine to medium grained, very light gray marble. The two joining pieces (*a*) preserve the smoothly dressed right side and the rough picked back. There is a smooth narrow band, 0.015 m. wide, which runs down the lateral side of the back. The upper piece was found in a Turkish fill in Section BB on March 15, 1939. The lower was found in a modern fill in Section AA on February 17, 1938. Fragment *b*, broken on all sides, was found in a surface fill in Section ΘΘ on April 15, 1937. Fragment *c*, broken on all sides, was found in a modern wall in Section Σ on April 28, 1937.

(*a*) (Plate 75). Height (as joined), 0.26 m.; width, 0.113 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5226.

(*b*) (Plate 75). Height 0.082 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.041 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *i*.

(*c*) (Plate 75). Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.084 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *l*.

The writing is not stoichedon; five letters, excluding iota, occupy on the average a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.045 m. Each line occupies a vertical space of 0.012-0.013 m.

STELE IV

<i>a.</i>		[μένε] <i>ἡάπασα ἐν τῷ</i>	
[-----] ν <i>v</i>		[... <i>ca.</i> ? ...] <i>χοροί METOP</i>	
[-----] οσιο <i>v</i>		[-----] ΕΣΤΙ	
[-----] ΕΙΠΑΡΑ		-----	
[-----] <i>vacat</i>		<i>b.</i>	
5	[Πολυστράτ]ο τῷ Διοδ	25	.δε[-----]
	[όρο Ἀγκυλῆ]θεν οἰκία		νιδ[-----] Σκαμ
	[κειμένε ὕ]πὸ Μονιχ		βον[ιδ-----]
	[ίαν καὶ γεπ]έδο ξμισυ		Ἀλκ[ιβιάδο τῷ Κλενίο]
	[πρὸς τὸν] τειχὸν		Σκαμ[βονίδο-----]
10	[Ἀχσιόχο] τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδο	30	ἐν Σκ[αμβονιδὸν--]
	[Σκαμβον]ίδο συ<ν>οικία		παρ[-----]
	[-----] <i>vacat</i>	<i>c.</i>	
	[κεφάλαι]ον οἰκιδν	traces	
	[... <i>ca.</i> ⁶ ...] ΔΔΠΠΠΠΠ	--†	λει[-----]
15	[... <i>ca.</i> ⁵ ... ὕ]περορία ε[...]	—†	και[-----]
	[... ? ...] ΕΣΑΡ[---]		Σκα[μβονιδ-----]
	[Νικίδ]ο τῷ Φ[οινικ]		γυλ[-----]
	[ίδο Μελι]τέος ἐν Διροι	35	Σκ[αμβονιδ-----]
	[... <i>ca.</i> ⁵ ...] ΤΕΡΟΟ καὶ ΚΓΝΕ		
20	[...]αι οἰκία τεθυρο		

These fragments have tentatively been associated because two, and possibly all, have a text which runs continuous from line to line with words divided between lines. Moreover, the width of the column seems to be identical. On fragment *a*, line 10, the space required for the name is within one letter space of the space required for the name of Alkibiades on fragment *b*. The script is the same, and indeed Stelai Nos. I-IV were probably inscribed by the same stonemason. Sloping lambda, nu with a short right hasta, a narrow beta, and a kappa with short diagonal strokes are characteristic of the script of all four stelai.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

The first part of fragment *a* contained a list of houses arranged according to the names of their original owners. The totals were inscribed in lines 13-14. The list is continued at line 15 with a record of property owned abroad (*ὑπερορία*).

Line 15: *χώρα* or *χωρία* would seem possible restorations for the beginning of this line.

Line 18: For the town Diros, apparently in Euboea, cf. II, line 313.

Lines 20-21: For buildings described as furnished with doors, or without doors, cf. in particular the numerous entries in *I.G.*, XI, 2, no. 287, A, lines 144 ff., and J. H. Kent, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 293.

V. (Plates 76 and 77). Four fragments of fine to medium grained, very light gray marble, all of which preserve the original back. The foliation of the marble was emphasized by burning on fragment *a*. The plane of foliation dips toward the bottom of the stele at an angle of about 10° to the inscribed face. The height of letters is 0.008 m.

(*a*) (Plate 77). Two joining fragments, the upper and smaller of which was found in a house in Section ΘΘ on January 17, 1937. The lower fragment was found in the foundation of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II on April 30, 1938.

Height (as joined), 0.50 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.124 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *e* (upper fragment) and *p*.

(*b*) (Plate 76). Found in the wall of a modern house in Section BB on April 28, 1939.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *w*.

(*c*) (Plate 76). Found in the wall of the same house as fragment *b* in Section BB on March 27, 1939.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *u*.

One line occupies a vertical space of 0.011 m. Five letters, excluding iota, occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.041 m.

STELE V

Column I

	----	----	[... ⁶ ...]
	----	----	[κλι]σιάδες σαπρ
	----	----	[θύ]ραι ΙΙΙ σαπραί
	----	----	τροχιλεία
5	----	----	κάδος
	----	----	θύρα
	----	----	χσύλα καύσιμα
	----	--Ι	ηαμαλλείον
	----	----	σκήμπος κατεα<γ>ός
10	----	----	πιεστέρια ΓΙΙ
	----	--Ι	ρύμος
	----	----	βάθρον

Column II

	----	----	σιπ[ύε]
	----	----	ἐπικ[λίντρο]
15	----	----	κλίναι ΙΙΙΙ
	----	-ΔΙ	κιβοτὸς θυριδοτέ
	----	----	κριθὸν φορμοί ΔΠΙ
	----	-ΙΙΙ	κριθὸν φορμοί ΔΠ
	----	----	φλαιί ΓΙ
20	[-----]	ν	δέμαρχος ἀπέγραφε ---
	[-----]	χον	κριθὸν φιδακνί[δες ---]
	----	----	έτέρα ΔΙ ἐμίσεια
	[-----]	ον	δέμαρχος ἀπ[έγραφε ---]
		[ἐν τῷ χ]	ορίοι τῷ Ἀθμον[εὔσι]
25		[---χά]	ρακες ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀ[μπέλοις]
	----	----	φιδάκναι Ι
	[-----]	ν	δέμαρχο[ς ἀπέγραφε ---]
	[-----]	ἐν	Κεραμ[εὔσι ---]
			...ν Ι
30			-----ιο
	----	----	[λε]γοὶ λίθιναι Ι----
	----	----	[τρ]ιπτέ<ρ>ε κε<ρ>αμί[ο]
	----	----	[β]αθροθυμα
	----	----	φιδάκνε· στόμα
35	----	----	[μ]ύκε χὸ μολυβδόδετος
	----	----	[π]λίνθοι· σταφυλοβόλοι
	----	----	φάτνε
	[-----]		δέμαρχος ἀπέγραφε
		[ὕ]όν·	κλισιάδες
40		[κ]επαία	ἐπὶ τῷ βο<δ>νι
	[-----]	δ	δέμαρχος ἀπέγραφε ΙΙΙ
	[-----]		νος τῆς μέζονος
	[-----]		ΙΙΙΙΙΙΔΠΙ
	----	----	[...]νος κεραμείας

the rest. The chisel left a slight ridge, with depression beneath, which appears exactly where fragments *b* and *c* approach each other along this side. This ridge may be seen on the photograph on Plate 76. The fracture follows a line approximately 45°-225°, as viewed from the original upright position of the stele. It is important to note that when the two fragments are so joined, the letters *oi* on the inscribed surface in the second column of fragment *c* are directly beneath the same letters on fragment *b*.

The position of the two groups, *a* with its two fragments, and *b* + *c*, has been determined on the assumption that a column containing a long list of the same entry *στάμνοι* Γ appeared on three of the four fragments. The first entry was made at line 45 of the reconstructed text. The stonecutter apparently completed the first lines, then omitted the sigma and mu (lines 61-62), next at line 63 he omitted the numeral Γ; and finally, by line 72, all that is left of the word are the omicron and the iota; all the rest has disappeared, rather like the Cheshire cat. The column came to an end at line 79. Here we seem to have a very interesting example of the stonecutter's absentmindedness or boredom in the face of too much repetition. Or did the word "stamnoi" suggest relaxation with the wine-jar, with the resulting comedy of omissions? In any case, I presume the letters were painted on before the stonecutter returned to incise them.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY OF THE TEXT

Line 9: The stonemason inscribed an Attic lambda instead of a gamma.

Line 13: The lower parts of the first three letters of this line are preserved. The first letter is a sigma, for the bottom hasta of the four-stroke letter is clear. In the next two letter spaces the lines of two vertical strokes are preserved in such a position as to permit the reading *σιπ[ύη]*.

Line 14: In the fourth letter space, there is preserved a complete vertical stroke which epigraphically could be part of a kappa, lambda, or iota. There is no stroke emanating from the top of the vertical. If a form of *ἐπίκλιντρον* is read, as has been suggested, it must be in the dual number; for the eleventh letter space is preserved uninscribed.

Line 21: The first preserved letter can be either a kappa or a chi.

Line 22: Since the adjective *ἡμίσεια* can only be a feminine form, the word *ἑτέρα* (or *ἑτέρα<ι>*) is feminine too, although eleven of the objects were sold.

Line 26: Of the first numeral, only the upper tip of a vertical stroke is preserved.

Line 31: The partly preserved numeral after the adjective may be either Γ or Ι; only the base of a vertical stroke is preserved.

Line 32: The stonecutter failed to inscribe the loops of the rhos in the seventh and eleventh letter space, although space had been left.

Line 39: *ὄων*, meaning *pig-pen*, occurs in a third century B. C. papyrus; see

Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9 ed., *s. v.* The two items in the line are unrelated: "a pig-pen: street-door."

Line 40: The stonecutter by error inserted a dot into the second omicron of *βοῶνι*, making the letter into a theta.

Line 60: Only the rightmost stroke of the nu was inscribed by the stonecutter.

Lines 61-66: The sigma and the mu were omitted from *στάμνοι* in these lines. By line 72, only the letters *oi* were inscribed.

Line 80: The purpose of the numerals above this line and to the right of lines 56 and 59 is not clear.

Lines 80 ff.: The first letter of this line is directly beneath the final sigma of line 44 (of Column II). The uninscribed space to the right of lines 35-41 (Column II) shows that the beginning of Column III at this point was at least 0.05 m. to the right of where it was at the first letter space of Column III at line 80. In other words, the upper part of the Column III was not in vertical alignment with the lower part. There is no sales tax or price for these preserved items of Column III, so these were presumably sold collectively. The letter in the fourth space seems to be a nu, for there is a small part of a diagonal stroke as well as the left upright. The upright stroke is certain but I cannot be sure that the diagonal is ancient, and iota and pi may also be considered as epigraphical possibilities.

Line 83: In the fourth letter space, just at the edge of the fracture, there is preserved a slanting stroke of a letter in a position which suggests a sigma. The coloration of the marble within the stroke suggests that the stroke was ancient.

VI. (Plates 77-79). Sixteen fragments of a medium grained white marble, six of which were brought together by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76. The foliation is difficult to see, but perhaps dips toward the bottom right. The lineation of mica bands, however, is very pronounced. This lineation on the surface is perpendicular to the direction of the inscribed letters. These bands, of muscovite (white) mica, are especially clear on fragments *b*, *f*, *k*, *l*, *m*, and *o*.

For convenience, the following table gives the inventory numbers in the Agora or Epigraphical Museum and the number in Meritt's publication in the order of their enumeration below. Usually joining fragments are given the same number, but this rule has not been followed in the case of this inscription. It is to be noted that eight fragments (*c-j*) join.

- a* = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 *j*
- b* = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 *f*
- c* = E. M. 6657; Meritt, fragment A.
- d* = E. M. 6657; Meritt, fragment B.
- e* = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 *h*
- f* = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 *b*; Meritt, fragment C.

- g = E. M. 6759; Meritt, fragment D.
 h = E. M. 6759; Meritt, fragment E.
 i = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 d
 j = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 a; Meritt, fragment F.
 k = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 k
 l = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 e
 m = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 g
 n = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 i
 o = Agora Inv. No. I 4408 c

Photographs of the joining fragments *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h* and *j* are to be found in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 70-71.

(a) (Plate 79). This fragment, broken on all sides, was found in a Turkish fill in Section BB on March 13, 1939.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

(b) (Plate 77). This fragment is composed of two joining pieces. The upper was found in a late wall constructed on the west face of the Valerian Wall in Section II on March 23, 1938. The lower fragment was found in a late wall in Section BB on April 17, 1939. Both pieces preserve the original rough-picked back.

Height (as joined), 0.58 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.14-0.15 m.

(c) (Plate 78). Found on the Acropolis.⁴² Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 349; *I.G.*, I, 276; Michel, *Recueil*, 566; Hicks and Hill, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 72; *S.I.G.*³, I, 98; *I.G.*, I², 326; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76; *S.E.G.*, X, 238.

(d) (Plate 78). *I.G.*, I, 276 (from copy by Koehler of the stone, which at that time was in the Museum of the Archaeological Society). Bibliography thereafter is the same as for fragment *c*.

(e) (Plate 78). This fragment, which joins fragment *c*, was found in a modern fill in Section BB on February 24, 1939. It is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

(f) Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76; *S.E.G.*, X, 238.

(g) (Plate 78). Found near the gate of Athena Archegetis. S. A. Koumanoudes, *Athenaion*, VII, 1878, pp. 205-7; *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 73, no. 277 a, and pp. 176-177, no. 277 a; *S.I.G.*³, I, 100; *I.G.*, I², 325; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76; *S.E.G.*, X, 238.

(h) (Plate 78). U. Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, pp. 392-95; *I.G.*, I, Suppl., pp. 176-177, no. 277 a; thereafter the same as fragment *g*.

⁴² Kirchhoff here (*ad I.G.*, I, 276), as elsewhere, questions the reliability of Rangabé in giving the provenance of inscriptions.

(i) (Plate 78). This piece joins fragment *h*. The stone, preserving the original back, was found in the west wall of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II on March 4, 1938.

Height, 0.065 m.; width of face, 0.054 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

(j) Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76; *S.E.G.*, X, 238.

(k) (Plate 79). Found in a modern wall in Section BB on May 15, 1939. The stone, the surface of which is badly flaked, is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

(l) (Plate 79). Found in a wall of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II on March 11, 1938. The inscribed face is the only original surface preserved.

Height, 0.151 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

(m) (Plate 79). Found in a house in Section BB on September 30, 1938. The stone is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

(n) (Plate 79). Found in the wall of a modern house in Section BB on February 25, 1939. The stone is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

(o) (Plate 79). This fragment, broken on all sides, was found in a Turkish fill in Section AA on January 26, 1938.

Height, 0.234 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.; height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4408 c.

The writing is not stoichedon. A line occupies a vertical space of 0.013-0.011 m. Five letters, excluding iota, occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.06 m. near the top of the preserved column of text and *ca.* 0.05 m. near the bottom of the column. On fragment *o*, five letters occupy *ca.* 0.04 m.

STELE VI

frag. *a*

---	---	--	ῥελλ
---	---	--	ῥαίχσι
---	---	---	αστε Δ
---	---	---	σιν
5	---	---	Δ Δ ε---
---	---	---	παῖς α
---	---	---	Γ

frag. *b*

---	---	[... ^{ca. 11} ...]ορο
---	---	[... ^{ca. 7} ... του]τον
10	---	[... ^{ca. 7} ...] ι
		<i>vacat</i>

			[... ^{ca. 7} ...]ο τὸ Διοδόρο Εἰ[τεαίο]
	----	----	[οἰκ]ία ἐν Κολλυτῶι ἡἔ[ι----
15			ἐκ τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ Αἰ[άκειον]
			καὶ ἡε ἀγορά
			<i>vacat</i>
			Ἀδειμάντο τὸ Λευκολοφίδ[ο Σκαμβονίδο]
	----	---ΔΠ	Φρὺχς ἀνέρ
	----	----	Ἀπολλοφάνες ἀνέρ
20	----	----	Χαρίας ὀβελισκοποιό[ς]
	----	----	[Ἀ]ρίσταρχος σκυτοτ[όμος]
	----	----	[Σάτ]υρος σκυτοτόμ[ος]
	----	----	[... ⁵ ...]ον οἰκογεν[ές]
25			-----

	----	----	[... ^{ca. 14} ...]ς
	----	----	[... ^{ca. 11} ...]λῖς
	----	----	[... ^{ca. 6} ...]αι δύο δύο τόρον
30			<i>vacat</i>
			[ἐκ τὸν Ἀρισ]τάρχο τὸ σκυτοτ[όμο]
			[-----]χθεν
	----	----	[... ⁶ ...]ς
	----	----	[... ⁶ ...]ς
35	----	----	[κροπέ]ξιον
	----	----	[... ⁵ ...]ν
	----	----	[...]ον
	----	----	[κονί]ποδες
	----	----	[χσύν]λα τετράγωνα
40	----	----	[κλί]νε
	----	----	[κλί]νε
	----	----	[τράπ]εζα
	----	----	[...]εα
	----	----	[... ^{5½} ...]α
45			[... ⁶ ...]ον
			[... ⁹ ...]σιν
			lacuna of at least 3 lines
			frags. c-j
50			[...] καὶ ἔ[γγονα...]
			<i>vacat</i>
			<i>vacat</i>
			[Ἀδειμάν]το τὸ Λε[υκ]ολοφίδο Σκα[μβονίδο]
	----	✓.	ἀνέρ [Ἀρ]ιστόμαχος
55			ἀγρὸς [ἐν] Θάσοι ἐν Ἰ----
			καὶ οἰκ[ία]. <i>vacat</i>
	----	[...]HHH ^Π	ἔπεστιν [πίθ]οι ἐνν[έα ἀμφορέον]
			ἡνυγίς ΔΔ [..σ]αθρο[ί--]
			ἐπιθέμα[τα ἔχοντες].

60	---	[.]H ^ρ ΔΔΔ	οἴνο ἀμφο[ρῆ]ς [---] ῤ ^ρ ῤ ^ρ ΔΔΔΔ τρ[ῆ]ς χόε[ς] vacat
		[II]αναϊτίο	
65	---	[.]ΔΔ	οἴνο ἀμφορ[ῆ]ς Ἀττι[κῶ] καθαροῦ ΗΙΙΙΙ ἔ[π]τὰ χό[ε]ς σμένε ἐν τῶι [ἄ]γρ[ο]ί τῶι ἐν Ἴσθ[μῶι. .]ΔΓ[---] βόε ἐρ[γάτα δ]ύο ἐν Ἀρ---
		[ΙΗ]H ^ρ Δ	
	---	. .	βόε δύ[ο. .] vacat
	---	.ΔΔ	βόε δύ[ο. .] vacat
70	---	---	β[όε]ς τέτταρες καὶ μό[σχοι---
	---	---	πρόβατα ῤ ^ρ ΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ καὶ ἔκγονα τούτων αἰγες ῤ ^ρ ΔΓΙΙ καὶ ἔγγον[α τούτων]. vacat
	---	...Δ	
75		[Πολυστρά]το	τὸ Διοδόρο Ἀγκυλέος οἰκία ἐγ ΚυδαθENAIO[ι, ἔ]ι πρόθυρον τὸ δίκιον, ἔι γείτόν ἐ[στι τὸ] ἱερὸν ---
	---	[....]ῤ	Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀθμον[όθεν] Ἀμαρυσίας, 80
80	II	---	χορίον Ἀγκυλῆσι νο[τόθεν] τὸ λόφο ἡίνα τὸ ἡι[ρόν---] vacat vacat vacat
85		Νικίδ[ο τῶ] Φοινικί[δο Μ]ελιτ[έος] Ι ῤ ^ρ Ι	ἐκχαλ[κώματα] vacat
		Εὐφιλέτο τὸ Τ[ιμοθέο ΚυδαθENAIOIS] περὶ ἀμφότερα· οἰκ[ία. . .] 90	
90		ΔΓ Χ ^ρ	ἀπ----- vacat vacat
		Φερεκλέος τὸ Φε[ρεν]ικα[ί]ο Θεμακ[έ]ο[ς] περὶ ἀμφότερα· οἰκ[ία ἐ]μ Βατῆι [καὶ] χορίον 95	
95			vacat ἡέτ[ερον] χορίον π[α]ρὰ Λαν--- εἰτε[....] vacat χορί[ον π]αρὰ τὸ Πύθ[ιον] vacat
100		ΔΙΗ ΧΗΗ	[ο]ικό[πε]δον [ἐ]λὸν [κ]αὶ χέ[ρρον] παρ[ὰ τὸ] Πύθιον ἡέτε[ρον] χορίον παρὰ τ[ὸ] ἡερά[κλει]ον ὀργά[δος] τὸ ἡέμισν τῆς ἐ[πὶ τῶι] 105
105			Πυθ[ί]οι κ]αὶ διανόμο τὸ ἀπὸ [τῶ] ἱερῶ], [τὸ δὲ ἄλλ]ο ἡέμισν ἐγ Κυκάλει.

	----	κεφάλ[αιον ----
	----	ΤΡΗ ὑπε ----
150		ἐπιμελ[---- ἐν]
		Ἐρετρία[ι ----
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
		Γ[----
155		πα ----
		π ----
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
160		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
		ε ----
		ε ----
		frag. o
165		<i>vacat</i>
	[τὸν ἀ]σεβessάντων π[ερὶ ----]	
	[Νικί]δο το Φοινικίδ[ο Μελιτέος]	
	---- ΗΔ κεττ[ο]ι π ----	
	---- πρόσ[κ]λ[ιτρον]	
170	---- Γ κεττο[ι π ----]	
	<div></div>	
	---- ποτέ[ριον]	
	τορ[ευτόν]	
	[Ἀδει]μάντο Λ[ευκολοφίδο Σκαμβονίδο]	
175	---- χσ ----	
	---- Η κ ----	
	---- ΗΗΗ π ----	
	[Ἀδει]μάντ[ο το Λευκολοφίδο Σκαμβονίδο]	

Eight of these fragments join and are obviously part of the same inscription. The other fragments were presumably cut by the same stonemason. The assignment of all to the same inscription has been based in great part on geological evidence, namely, the lineation of the prominent mica bands.

It should be noted that there is considerable variation in the horizontal spacing of the letters. Whereas on most of the inscription, five letter spaces never measure less than 0.05 m., on fragments *k-n* the same number of letters measure horizontally 0.042 m. on the average; and on fragment *o* the measurement is 0.04 m. On the other hand, fragment *a* has the widest spacing of all. Similarly, with regard to vertical spacing, a line on fragment *a* occupies a space of 0.013 m. whereas on fragment *o* a line vertically measures only 0.01 m. In spite of these differences in vertical and horizontal measurements, the sixteen fragments have been assembled on the assumption

that the inscription was a very large block of marble, not properly a stele, probably of several columns, in which the spacing at the beginning of the text was wider than that at the end. It is an almost unique situation to have sixteen fragments preserved, some of considerable size, and yet no original edge.

On contiguous pieces there are very interesting examples of variation in measurements. On line 93 the first six letters occupy the same space as eight letters in the line below. Vertically, eleven lines on the lower part of fragment *f* measure 0.123 m. which is the same measurement as ten lines on fragment *j* nearer the base of the inscription. The height of the sigma, from the tip of the upper diagonal hasta to the bottom of the lower, is 0.013 m. in line 31 and above, but 0.009 m. in line 33 and below. Indeed, the spacing in general seems to become more crowded beginning at line 32. For this reason, the small fragment *a* with its wide spacing has been assigned to a position near the top of the inscription.

The style of the script remains the same throughout. The letters were very carefully cut.

The maximum thickness of the original stone was 0.15 m., and this original thickness occurs in seven of the fragments. Their back is rough picked in such a way that a deep circular hole was left in the marble every few inches, but in no regular pattern.

No original edge is preserved. When fragments *g* and *h* were published as *I.G.*, I², 325, the two pieces were reported as exhibiting the original left and right edges. Later, Meritt (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 74) reported that only the right lateral surface was original, and that the text was from the last column. It is certain, however, that the right edge also of *I.G.*, I², 325 cannot be original. There is a small projection which protrudes at least 0.01 m. from the rest of the right lateral surface of fragment *h*. The photograph in *Hesperia*, VIII, p. 71 is deceptive in not showing this projection. More conclusively, fragment *i*, which joins fragment *h* along a broad surface, extends at least 0.08 m. to the right of the right lateral surface of fragment *h*.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 12: The iota of the demotic has been dotted because it is barely possible that the letter is a kappa. The inscribed surface is broken away at the middle of the vertical stroke.

Line 13: The house in the deme Kollytos is here said to have bordered on the Agora. This permits a more exact location of the deme than has hitherto been possible.⁴³ Kollytos was, along with Kolonos, Ankyle, Bate, Diomeia and Hestiaia,

⁴³ The ablest discussion of the site of Kollytos is by R. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 140-3. Cf. also Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 169, note 1, and Honigmann in *R. E.*, s. v. Κολλυτός. Since Kollytos is known from Strabo, I, 65-66, to have adjoined Melite, the approximate site has always been known.

from the city trittys of the tribe Aigeis.⁴⁴ As the largest of the city demes of its tribe, it must now be located in part north of the gap between the Pnyx and the Areopagus. There is, moreover, a distinct possibility that Kollytos was contiguous with Kolonos, a possibility sometimes denied.

The evidence for the site of the deme has hitherto been found primarily in two passages from Strabo and the rhetorician Himerius, as preserved in Photius' *Bibliotheca*. Strabo (I, 65-66) states that a boundary stone was inscribed on either side with the names of the demes Melite and Kollytos. The two demes must, then, have joined at this point. Melite is placed at the southwest of the Hephaisteion. Himerius locates Kollytos Street, which must have taken its name from the deme, in the innermost part of the city and states that it was used as a market place.⁴⁵ Leake has accordingly argued that the street must have commenced in the Agora.⁴⁶ Kollytos' representation in the boule in the fourth century was three members; so its area could not have been extensive.⁴⁷

Line 14: The last preserved letter of this line is an iota; I can see no stroke coming off from the upright. The reading of a nu, which would permit the restoration of the word Ἀνάκειον, is, I believe, impossible.

A temenos of the Aeginetan hero Aiakos was known from Herodotos to have been marked out ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς at the beginning of the fifth century,⁴⁸ but nothing has hitherto been known about its approximate position.⁴⁹ This Aiakeion must now be sought at the southwest corner of the Agora.

Line 32: The first preserved letter in this line can be only a chi or kappa, as can be determined by the direction of the partially preserved diagonal stroke. The next letter is read in the text as a theta, although no dot was inscribed within the outer circle.

Line 39: The position and angle of the diagonal stroke in the first preserved letter space make the reading of a letter other than lambda unlikely.

Line 55: In the text of *S.E.G.* X, 238 (line 8), the vertical upright of the previous texts, including that of Meritt, has been changed to a dotted pi without indication of the reason for the change. Although the stone is broken away at the very top of the letter, the vertical stroke is centered in the middle of the stoichos and is placed 0.0065 m. to the right of the second vertical of the preceding letter, a nu. This

⁴⁴ See Gomme, *Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p. 57.

⁴⁵ Photius, *Bibl.*, p. 375B (Bekker): στενωπός τις ἦν Κολλυτός, οὕτω καλούμενος, ἐν τῷ μεσαιάτῳ τῆς πόλεως, δῆμον μὲν ἔχων ἐπώνυμον, ἀγορᾶς δὲ χρειαῖ τιμώμενος.

⁴⁶ Leake, *Topography of Athens*, I, p. 443. Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁴⁷ See Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 57. From Plutarch (*de exil.* 6) we know that at one time the deme was a favorite place of residence.

⁴⁸ Herodotos V, 89.

⁴⁹ See Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

is a distance greater than that which separates any pi from its preceding letter. An iota seems almost certain.

Line 57: The upper half of a vertical stroke is preserved at the right edge of the fragment. The stroke is very close to the preceding nu, and this spacing in a stoichedon text suggests a letter wider than an iota. Indeed, there is preserved, I believe, a small portion of a slanting stroke; so the reading of a nu seems to be required. If we read ἐνν[έα ἀμφορέων], the size of the pithoi would be defined just as the size of the phidaknai in II, lines 251-252 was defined. The reading of a pi, as introduced into the text of *S.E.G.* X, seems unlikely.

Lines 60-61: The position of the sales price opposite the space between the lines indicates that a new entry began at line 60 and that the text of lines 60-61 goes together.

Line 61: In the *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, and *S.E.G.*, X, publications a fourth delta was erroneously inserted into the sales price of the amphoras. Moreover, the *S.E.G.* text runs together the numerals for the sales price and for the number of the amphoras.

Since the cardinal numeral was used with the noun χόες in this line, restoration of numeral plus noun has similarly been made in line 65.

Line 64: The number of numerals for the sales price in this line, as well as in lines 57, 61, 66, 69, etc., cannot be determined with certainty. Editors before Meritt assumed that there were originally only two numerals in this line, and the other lines were restored according to an alignment with the first of the two deltas. Meritt's text shows an alignment with another numeral to the left. The first numeral of the sales price would then begin about 0.057 m. from the list of items, with the same alignment as line 115 below. It must be noted, however, that throughout this column the stonecutter made no effort at rigidly regular alignment.

Line 67: What was read as dotted epsilon in the original publication is clearly a delta.⁵⁰ In the next letter space only the lower half of an upright stroke is preserved. Photographs of latex squeezes which clearly show what is preserved of this line are given in *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, plate 5, B and C.

Line 80: The base of two vertical strokes is preserved in the column containing the sales tax. The first numeral is so spaced as to be the sign of five drachmas or one drachma.

Line 86: The restoration of this line was proposed by Tod (*Hermathena*, LIX, 1942, p. 82).

Line 89: The phrase *περὶ ἀμφοτέρα* both here and in line 94 is crowded.

Line 93: Spatial considerations favor the reading of the second letter of the patronymic as an epsilon (Meritt) rather than an iota (*Hesperia*, Index, pp. 147 and

⁵⁰ See *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, p. 119.

150; and Raubitschek, *S.E.G.*, X, p. 106). The eighth letter could be an alpha or a gamma. Pherenikaios does not occur in Greek prosopography, but Pherenikos is common.

Line 96: The first three letters of this and the following three lines have been shown on a detailed photograph of a translucent latex squeeze published in *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, plate 5, D.

Line 97: A photograph of a translucent latex squeeze of the weathered surface of line 97 is given in Plate 5, D, of *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952. Editors before Meritt, including Koehler (*I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 73) and Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 325) have read **ETE** without dots in the first three letter spaces of the line. Meritt read a dotted pi in the first letter space, a sure epsilon in the second, and a dotted theta in the third letter space. The editors of *S.E.G.*, X, p. 106, read a certain pi, dotted upsilon, and a certain theta. The first two letters are clearly epsilon and tau, as can be seen on the photograph of the latex squeeze. This reading is in accord with Koehler's original text. The third letter, however, may be an epsilon or a rho. The markings slightly favor a rho, for no trace of the third horizontal stroke of an epsilon is visible.

Line 99: Meritt restored the word [*ἡέρερον*] at the beginning of this line. This would require crowding, for the original surface of the stone is preserved uninscribed in what would normally be the seventh letter space. A latex squeeze picks up no traces of letters in the first three letter spaces, which are preserved in a weathered condition, whereas in the three lines above, where the stone is in the same condition, there are clear traces of letters. Line 99, then, I believe, was uninscribed.

Line 112: The phi in the first letter space is entirely preserved.

Lines 116-117: To the left of these lines and more or less centered in the space between the lines, there is the right half of a nu inscribed above an iota (or obol sign). These two letters are at least 0.06 m. to the right of a line projected down from the left edge of fragment *g* above.

Line 117: The partially preserved entry of this line was read by Koehler and subsequent editors as --- *οις ρ* (*vel β*) -- with notations that only the top parts of all four letters were preserved. In 1939, Meritt added the letters --*ες* after the rho (or beta) and observed that the stone was preserved uninscribed after the sigma. If the fourth letter from the end is sigma, kappa or chi (the last according to *S.E.G.*, X), it is very difficult to complete the text. It is possible that this letter is an epsilon or tau. Dr. M. Mitsos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, when he examined the stone with me, favored an epsilon. I believe a tau is equally possible. All that is preserved is the barest tip of a horizontal stroke. The surface of the stone breaks in a diagonal line away from this tip, and it is this broken surface, resembling the upper part of a sigma, which may possibly have misled previous editors. The word *τρῆς* is, I believe, a possible reading.

Line 119: The half-obol sign was omitted in previous publications.

Line 122: The upper half of the kappa is preserved in the second letter space.

Lines 126-127: The prices were inscribed opposite the space between this entry of two lines.

Line 135: Of the first letter after the numerals, only a horizontal bar is preserved at the top of the letter.

Line 147: The fifth letter space preserves the left diagonal stroke of an alpha or a gamma.

Line 149: In the sixth letter space only part of an upright stroke remains.

Line 154: The indentation suggests a heading. Of the names of the known condemned which began with gamma, there are Glaukippos and Gniphonides.⁵¹

Lines 168, 170: There is no very satisfactory solution for *κεττοι*. The only suggestion is based on Hesychius' entry: *κησόν· εὐδομον*. Hesychius sometimes gives forms with *κωνη -σσ-* and sometimes forms with Attic *-ττ-*. The word *κηττοί* can thus be an adjective in the masculine plural modifying a noun beginning with *π*. The meaning must be either *perfumed* or *fragrant*.

Line 171: The erasure in this line extends across the entire width of the fragment.

Line 178: The letters alpha and nu are certain. After the nu, there is part of a horizontal stroke with no connecting vertical stroke at the edge of the fracture. In front of the alpha, there is a slightly slanting vertical stroke, which suggests a mu. I suspect the stonecutter was having trouble with the name Adeimantos; that he inscribed his name in line 171 before completing the items under the name of Nikides and was forced to erase it. He then seems to have needlessly duplicated the name in line 178, after inscribing it in line 174.

VII. (Plates 80-82). Six fragments of a fine to medium grained white marble. The lination of calcite grains on the inscribed surface, emphasized by weathering, is at an angle of 10°. Two fragments preserve the original top and two the original left edge. The height of letters is 0.004 m. (omicrons)-0.006 m. The inscribed surface is badly flaked.

(a) (Plates 80-81). This fragment consists of two pieces. The left one was found in the pavement of the Street of Ares, near the Acropolis, and was published by N. Kyparissis and W. Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 232-35, number 5. It was republished with many inaccuracies as fragment B of *S.E.G.*, X, no. 242. The top, left side, and back are all original. In the top there is a circular cutting 0.03 m. deep, centered 0.15 m. from the left edge with a pour channel 0.08 m. long extending to the right (see Plate 81). The stone, originally in the courtyard of the Acropolis Museum, has through the kindness of the Greek Archaeological Service been trans-

⁵¹ See above, pp. 231-232.

ferred to the Agora Excavations and now bears the inventory number of the fragment which it joins I 845 *b*. The join is illustrated in Plate 81.

Height, 0.51 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

The rightmost piece joins the other along a wide contact surface and provides a continuous text for part of Column II. The top and back are original. The right side has a re-cut surface. The stone was found in the wall of a modern house in Section BB on April 3, 1939.

Height, 0.51 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.152 m.

Inv. No. I 845 *b*.

(*b*) (Plate 82). This fragment, preserving an original left edge, was found in April, 1884, in a house located north of the Stoa of Attalos. S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1885, p. 161; *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 73, no. 277 *b*; *S.I.G.*, I³, 103; *I.G.*, I², 331.

(*c*) This fragment, broken on all sides, was published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 81-82. *S.E.G.*, X, no. 242. For a photograph of this fragment, see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 81.

(*d*) (Plate 82). Two joining fragments, the larger of which was found in a late Byzantine or Turkish wall in Section II on April 16, 1937. The left fragment was found in a modern fill in Section AA on February 9, 1938. Both are broken on all sides.

Height (as joined), 0.25 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *m* and *k*.

The writing is not stoichedon. A line occupies on the average a vertical space of 0.011 m. Five letters, excluding iota, occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.032 m. There are, however, many deviations from these measurements, both horizontally and vertically, on the same fragment.

STELE VII

Column I

frag. *a*

		[τὸν π]ερί τὰ [μυστέρια ἁ]σεβεισ[άντων ---]
		[τάδε τὰ ἀνδρά]πο[δ]α ἐπράθε
		[--- ---] [Ἀν]τιγένης
		[τὸ] γένος Θραῖξ,
5	[--- ---]	Στρογγυλίου
		[τ]ὸ γένος Κάρ,
	[--- ---]	Σίμος τὸ γένος
		Σκύθες, Καρίον
	[--- ---]	τὸ γένος Κάρ,
10	[--- ---]	[Φ]άνες τὸ [γέ]νος
		[...]ος,
	[--- ---]	[...]λλ[.]δες

15 [--- ---] [τὸ γ]έν[ος Θ]ράξ,
[---]
[---]
[---]
[---]
[---]
[---]
[---]
20 [---]
[---]
[---]
[---]
[γέπεδον κ]αὶ ο[ι]—
25 [κία Ἀθ]μονοῖ, ξ[τερον]
[γέπεδο]ν κα[ὶ οἱ]
[κία Ἀθμονοῖ]
[--- ca. 12 ---] α
[---]
[... ca. 10 ...] ρες
30 [... ca. 9 ...] ιτε. ε.
[... ca. 7 ...] ι
[... ca. 7 ...] τοι
[--- ca. 6 ---] Ἀθμονοῖ
[--- ca. 8 ---]
35 [--- ca. 9 ---] s
[---]
[---] οἰκιδόν
[---] ἐ[πονίον]
lacuna

frag. b

40 ΔΔΗΧ ΧΧΗΠ ---
vacat
vacat
[κ]εφάλαιον ---
[ἐ]πόνια Δ ---
σύμπαν κε[φάλαιον ---]
45 vacat
Ἀχσχιόχο Σκ[αμβονίδο ---]
vacat ---
[Η] Η ---
vacat ---
50 vacat ---
vacat ---
lacuna

Column II

[III]	Π[Η]Η	φιδάκνε [I]
[I]	ΗΗΗΗΗ	φιδ[άκ]νε I
[I]	ΗΗΗΗΗ	φιδ[άκ]νε I

55	III	Δ†	φιδάκνε
	I	†††	φι[δά]κνε
	I	†††	[χ]οάνιον
	†	ΠΔ	μολυβδὸν ... εἶδος
			πίν[ακες γεγραμμ]έ[νοι ---]
60	III	Π††††	πίν[αξ ἔτερ]ος σμικρό[ς]
	III	Π---	γεγ[ραμμένο]ς
			[πίν]αξ ποικί[λος]
		[χ]ορία [-ca. 12--]	ΑΧΣΙ--
		ΓΥΡΙΟ [-ca. 12--]	ΟΚΕΝ
65	--	..ΔΔΔΔ	ε... ⁸ ...οπ--
	[ΔΔ†--]	ΧΗ--	κ... ⁹ ...Δ
			[-----]
			[-----]
			[-ca. 7--] ΡΑ--
70			[-ca. 7--] Α.Ρ--
	[Δ††††]	ΧΠΗΗΗΗ	ἔτερ[ο]ν πρὸς ἔμπο[ρ]ίοις
			γῆς φ[σιλῆ]ς πλέθρ[α..] ἀμπέλον
			οἰκία [ῆ]ν τῷ ἀγρῷ
			ἔ[τερος] ἀγρὸς γῆς φσιλῆς πλέθ[ρα--]
75	ΠΔ†	ΤΗ	ι[. . ⁵ ...] III
			Ρ[. . ⁵ ...] ΑΖΕ.ΤΙΔ ἀμπέ<λ>ον
			[. . ⁵ ...] ΔΔΔ ..II· οἰκία ἐν τῷ ἀγρ[ῷ--]
	†††††	ΗΗΗΔ	[. . ⁶ ...] οσται ἐν Ἀβύδοι
	<i>vacat</i>	ΗΗ	... ^{ca. 7} ...ΚΑΙ ΕΒΑΛ ..ΑΣΙ--
80			... ^{ca. 8} ...ΟΜ.ΝΙΟΣ
	†	Π††	... ⁷ ...ΝΕ ἐπράθ[ε--]
			κεφάλαιον [οἰκῶν] καὶ χορί[ον--]
		ΤΤ.ΠΔΔΔΔ†--	<i>vacat</i>
			ἐπονίον κ[εφάλαιον--] ΔΔ
85			[χσ]ύμπα[ν κεφάλαιον] τὸν---
			frag. c
			[-ca. 8--] κ--
	--	---	[φιδάκ]γε
	--	---	[φιδάκν]ε
	--	---	---
90	--	---	[φιδάκν]ε
	--	---	[φιδάκ]γε δεδεμέν[ε]
	--	---	[φιδά]κνε
	--	---	[ἀργύ]ριον ἀργὸν κ[---]
	--	---	[κέρ]αμος παλαιός
95	--	---	[ζεύ]γε ΗΠΔΠ†††
	--	---	[κερ]αμίδες ΗΗΔΔ†
	--	---	[καλ]υπτῆρες ΗΗΔ
	--	---	[Κορι]νθιοργῆς Ι---
	--	---	[κέρ]αμος παλα[ίος]
100	--	---	[...]ιον II

		frag. <i>d</i>
		lacuna
	--	[ι]μάτιον
	---	ίμάτιον
	--	ίμάτιον
	---	ίμάτι[ον]
105	--	ίμάτ[ιο]ν
	---	τρίπε[χv] ^v
	--	ἐχ[σο]μίσ
	---	ἐ[χσο]μίσ
	--	[ἐχσ]ομίσ
110	--	[ἐχσ]ομίσ
	---	[ἐχσ]ομίσ
		[κεφάλαιον] ἐπονίον
		[-----]νιον Δ

Concerning the association of these fragments as one inscription, explanation is required only in the case of our fragment *d*. This fragment, comprising two joining pieces, has been assigned to Stele VII on the basis of script. The small omicrons, sigmas with four equal hastas, and large taus, as well as the measurements for less distinctive letters, are the same as on the other fragments. The vertical spacing, however, presents a problem and makes the identity insecure. The first five lines on fragment *d* measure 0.065 m., whereas five vertical lines on the other fragments measure consistently 0.056 m., or thereabouts. The last five lines on fragment *d*, however, measure 0.055 m. and moreover the last preserved word on *d*, when cut out of the squeeze, exactly coincides when superimposed over the same word on fragment *a*. On the assumption that the stonemason permitted wider vertical spacing at the top of fragment *d*, this fragment has been tentatively associated with Stele VII.

As to the position of the fragments, the two pieces comprising *a* join and give part of the text of Columns I and II. Fragment *b* preserves an original left edge, so must come somewhere below the first column of fragment *a*. For the position of fragment *d* there is no evidence. Fragment *c* has been placed just below the right piece of fragment *a*, in a position where the two surfaces make a slight vertical contact over the surface of about an inch. The line of fracture of the two inscriptions is at this point continuous. Moreover, when the two fragments are placed in this position, the entries in fragment *c*, as restored, would be in perfect vertical alignment with other entries of Column II above. Admittedly, however, the thickness of fragment *c* is very slight at this point, and no claim is made that there is a certain join.

A word of explanation may be given about the unfortunate loss of part of the inscribed text of the left piece of fragment *a*. The stone was discovered shortly before the Italian invasion of Greece in World War II and was taken to the Acropolis and placed in a bomb-proof shelter. Before the stone was stored away, Kyparissis made a squeeze which was the basis of the text of the *editio princeps* published in

Ath. Mitt., LXVI, 1941. After the war, when I came to study the inscription which I found in the courtyard of the Acropolis Museum, I noticed that a fragment of inscribed surface had been clipped away. The color of the marble is very white in the area of this fracture, for the newly-exposed surface is unweathered. The position of the fracture can be seen clearly on the photograph (Plate 80). Part of the first three lines of the inscription, including the heading, was contained on the lost fragment.

It seemed to me that the fracture must have occurred while the inscription was being moved in or out of the tunnel in which it was stored under the Acropolis Museum during the Second World War. With the kind permission of Dr. J. Threpsiades, Assistant Ephor of the Acropolis, I had a careful search made of this entire area, where much silt has now been deposited. Although many pieces of marble and terracotta came to light, our missing fragment was not discovered, nor could I find it among the marbles now lying in the courtyard of the museum. The discovery of this fragment would permit an exact measurement of the heading to be restored in lines 1-2. Kyparissis and Peek published their text from a squeeze and did not realize that the original left edge of our fragment was preserved. It seems particularly unfortunate that the text has been lost from the only fragment in this group of poletai records which preserved a heading at the top of the stone.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 1: The letters $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\alpha$ — were seen by Kyparissis and Peek on a squeeze, made before this part was broken away. They have indicated that there were 8 letters between the alpha and the first epsilon of the word which I restore as $[\acute{\alpha}]\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\nu]$. Kyparissis and Peek suggested the text $[\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}[\mu\acute{\phi}\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \kappa]\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\varsigma$,⁵² but the sigma in front of the epsilon is very distinct.

There seem to be two possible restorations for the prepositional phrase: $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\phi}\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\alpha$. The editors (*op. cit.*, p. 234, note 1) regarded the latter phrase as too long,⁵³ but the spatial difference is only the width of an iota. One of the condemned, Axiochos, uncle of Alkibiades, is named on the stele in line 46. He is associated by Andokides in the *De Mysteriis* with the profanation of the Mysteries only. Moreover, in the three attested cases of the phrase $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\phi}\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ in our inscriptions, the article does not occur;⁵⁴ so the second phrase has tentatively been restored in our text.

Line 2: This has been restored according to the suggestion of Kyparissis and Peek (*op. cit.*, pp. 234-235) as follows: $[\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi]o[\delta]a\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon$. According to

⁵² In *S.E.G.* X, the restoration $[\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ [-\acute{\alpha}\sigma]\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\nu]$ is attributed to Tod, but this text would extend far to the left of the original left edge.

⁵³ Their reference to a broad mu is hardly cogent, for the letter occurs in both prepositional phrases.

⁵⁴ VI, 89 and 94; X, 13.

their text (p. 233) the rho of the word ἀνδράποδα would align with the first letter of the names of the items below. Since the distance from the original left edge to this first letter of the items can be determined as 0.08 m., there is enough space in line 2 for the remaining nine letters to the left of the rho.

Line 5: The reading of the name Σπογγυλίων in this line must be corrected to Στρογγυλίων. All letters are clear. The only other bearer of this name who is known from the Athens of this period is the artist whose name appears on the preserved base of the "wooden horse" on the Acropolis.⁵⁵

Line 11: I am unable to see on the stone the initial sigma read by Kyparissis and Peek. This sigma enabled them to read the line as Σ[ύρ]ος.

Line 12: Attic lambdas in the fourth and fifth letter spaces are certain. Before the ending -ες, there is the upper triangular corner of a delta, alpha or gamma. The name Ἀπολλωνίδης would be a possible restoration.

Lines 29-32: Certain corrections are necessary in the *Ath. Mitt.* text. The third letter from the end of line 29 is, I believe, a rho and not a gamma. In line 30 Kyparissis and Peek read ονγε, where the stone shows τε.ε. In line 32, the reading Ἀθμο]νοῖ must be rejected, for the third letter from the end is clearly a tau.

Line 40: To the right of the Η of the sales price, there is preserved a small part of an upright stroke.

Line 52: The sales price was read in the *editio princeps* as ΜΗ[Η]Η.⁵⁶ The traces in the first letter space, however, favor a Γ. The short right vertical stroke is clear. Of the third numeral there is no trace.

Line 53: The delta of φιδάκνη, not read by Kyparissis and Peek, is clear on the stone.

Line 54: The first drachma sign, bracketed by Kyparissis and Peek, is certain.

Line 55: Parts of the sales price for this φιδάκνη are now to be read. In the first space there is a delta; to the right is the upper part of a drachma or an obol sign.

Lines 57-58: The sales price was inscribed midway between these two lines; so the words of these lines apply to the same item. In line 57, the omicron and the second nu of χοάνιον are both clear. In line 58, the reading of πολύπον is to be corrected into μολυβδόν. As Kyparissis and Peek noted (p. 232), the stonecutter engraved an Ionic lambda in line 58, although elsewhere he was using Attic script. Line 58 is the first line of the text of Column II which extends over onto the surface of the joining Agora fragment.

Lines 63-64: The two-line heading extended well into the column of sales prices.

⁵⁵ The latest study of Strongylion appears in Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, pp. 524-525.

⁵⁶ In *S.E.G.* X, p. 109, the reading of Kyparissis and Peek was changed to ΗΗ[Η]Η with no explanatory note. This text, apparently made without any independent examination of the stone or a reproduction thereof, has no probative value.

The reported letters are faint, but, I believe, certain. The readings, as the photograph in Plate 80, were made at a most favorable time before the dust of the Acropolis storeroom had been removed from the very flaky surface.

Line 72: The crossbar was omitted from the sign for the second hundred drachmas. Corrections have been made in the numerals of the sales prices here and in line 78.

Line 79: No figures for the sales tax were inscribed.

Line 106: There is space for two and only two letters after the epsilon of this line. The most likely restoration seems *τρίπηχυν*, which means that the adjective modified *ἱμάτιον*, not *ἐξωμῖς* of the line below.

VIII. (Plate 83). This fragment, broken on all sides, has most recently been published as *I.G.*, I², 332. Bibliography: Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, pp. 395-396; *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 177, no. 277 c; Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, no. 101.

The writing is not stoichedon. Five letters, excluding iota, occupy on the average a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.038 m. Each line occupies a vertical space of 0.012 m.

STELE VIII

		[----- 'Ανα] -
		[γυ]ρασίο ἐν -----
		.α ἐπράθε ΗΔΔ, ἐπ[όνια ΙΙΙ· 'Αλκιβιάδο τὸ --] -
-- III		ο Φεγοσίο ἐν 'Οροπὸ[ι ----- χο] -
5		ρίο ἐπικαρπία Δ, ἐπὸ[νια ----- χο] -
-- ρ		ρίο ἐν 'Οροπὸι ἐν ἱερ[δι λιμένι ----- ἐ] -
		πόνια ΙΙΙ, κεφάλαιον [----- Χ] -
		[αιρεδ]έμο τὸ 'Ελπίο 'Αχ[ερδοσίο ----- Οἰ] -
		[ονίο τὸ Οἰ]ονοχάρ[ος

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 2: One of three demotics may be restored at the beginning of this line: *'Αναγυράσιος*, *Θριάσιος*, or *Τειθράσιος*. The low position of the base of the first preserved stroke favors a rho rather than an iota, for several of the rhos in this fragment extend below the line. After the epsilon the base of two strokes in a position for a nu can be seen at the edge of the fracture.

Kyparissis and Peek (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 235, note 1) propose to read this line as follows: [π]ρᾶσις ἐ---. Their second sigma, however, is an incorrect reading. The stone clearly shows the lower half of an omicron.

Line 3: The first numeral has hitherto been read as a dotted Η. Part of the cross-bar and all of the left vertical stroke are preserved, so there can be no question about the numeral.

Line 3: In the interspace between line 3 and 4 and lines 5 and 6, there are pre-

served at the left of the stone numerals which may have been the ends of lines of the column to the left.

Line 6: Oropos was lost to the Athenians in the early part of 411 B. C.⁵⁷ The *ἱερὸς λιμὴν ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον* at Oropos is mentioned in Strabo, IX, 403.⁵⁸

Line 8: Of the names ending in *-ημος*, *Χαιρέδημος* is the only one to be found among those known to have been informed against, and it has accordingly been restored by Koehler and Hiller. There are only two possibilities for the demotic, *Ἀχ[ερδοσίου]* and *Ἀχ[αρνέος]*. Since a Chairedemos is known from the former deme (*I.G.*, II², 7189), as was pointed out to me by G. A. Stamires, I have followed Sundwall and Kirchner in restoring it here, although the commonness of the name and the large size of the deme Acharnai would make one hesitate to be too positive on this point.

IX. Small fragment, preserving the original right side, found in 1934 in the removal of the bed of the Eridanos. Published by Peek in *Kerameikos*, III, 1941, pp. 12-13 (photograph on plate 2, no. 3). *S.E.G.*, X, no. 242, fragment A.

STELE IX

	[-----] ΔΔ ----		----- ΔΔΔΔ ἐπόνι --
	[-----] ζεύ] γε ΔΔΗΗ ηε --		[a -----] ἐπ] όνια ΗΗ
	[τερ -----] αθρα ἐν τοῖ α --		[-----] ἐν] επισκέμμα --
	[γροῖ -----] κεφάλ] αιον σὺν ἐπ-		[τα -----] τα φρύγα --
5	[ονίοις -----] ἐ] πόνια ΗΗΗ	10	[να -----] vvv

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 3: Peek offered several suggestions for completing *-αθρα*. Others could be culled from Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, pp. 325 and 349. Since the preceding line contained references to pairs of tiles, I would suggest that the reference in this line may be to cracked tiles and our word may be *σ]αθρά*.

Line 8: Peek originally regarded *ἐπίσκεμμα* as a new word and connected it with *ἐπισκέπω*, *to cover*. The word *ἐνεπίσκημμα*, which occurs in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 402, no. 10, line 167, in the sense of *claim*, has been restored in a fourth century poletai list (*I.G.*, II², 1583) by Peek,⁵⁹ who now favors this restoration for our present text.⁶⁰

X. Two non-joining fragments which preserve the original left side. Both stones are a fine to medium grained white marble with very distinct lineation on the inscribed face. This lineation, of muscovite mica and of bluish-white bands, is at an angle of 80° to the vertical axis of the stele.

⁵⁷ Thuc. VIII, 60. Cf. J. Wiesner in *R. E.*, s. v. Oropos.

⁵⁸ See Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, X, 1885, p. 350, and Koehler, *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, pp. 395-396.

⁵⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942 (printed in 1951), p. 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16, note 2.

(a) (Plate 84). This fragment, found in 1834 near the Church of Hypapanti, preserves the original top, left side, and back. Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 38; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, I, no. 348, pp. 394-403; Pittakys, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1852, no. 1125; *I. G.*, I, 274 and I, Suppl., p. 35; Michel, *Recueil*, 564; Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, no. 110; Hicks-Hill, *Manual*, 72; Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 99; *I.G.*, I², 328.

(b) (Plate 83). This fragment, which preserves the left side and original back, was found in 1840 to the north of the Church of Hypapanti. Pittakys, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1853, no. 1142; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 2254; *I.G.*, I, 275; Michel, *Recueil*, 565 (text revised on the basis of a squeeze made by Homolle); Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 97; Hicks-Hill, *Manual*, 72; *I.G.*, I², 327.

One line occupies a vertical space of 0.013 m. Five letters, measured horizontally, occupy a space of 0.04 m.

STELE X

	[ΔΓ]ΗΗ	ΧΠΗΗΗ	δρύνδον κ[αὶ πιτ]υῖνδον καὶ οἰκία ἐν — καὶ πίθοι ΠΙΙΙ ὃ ἐν τῇ οἰκίαι
	ΗΙΙΙ	ΗΔΔΔΓΗ	Κυδίμαχον δόλον Ἀδειμάντο κεφάλαιον σύμπαν ΠΠΔΗΗ
5			τάδε ἐπράθε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐβδόμες πρυτανειόσες Γαμελιόνης ἐβδόμει ἱσταμένο ὃ Ἀχσιόχο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῳ Σκ[αμβονίδῳ].
	ΗΗ	ΗΠΔΔΔΔΓ	Ὅλας ἀνέρ. ἐνάτει φθίνοντος Γαμελιόνης Ἀχσιόχο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῳ [Σκαμβονίδῳ].
	ΗΙΙΙ	ΗΔΔΔ	Μεσσένιος ἀνέρ. ἔκτει φθίνοντος Γαμελιόνης [Ἀ]δειμάντο τῷ Λευκολοφ[ίδῳ Σκαμβονίδῳ].
10	Η	Π	ἐπικαρπία τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Ὀφρυνείῳ ἐκεκό[μιστο]. κεφάλαιον σύμπαν ΗΗΗΠΔΔΠΗΗΗΙΙΙ
			τὸμ περὶ ἀμφοτέρῃ· Γαμελιόνης ἔκτει φθίνοντο[ς] Εὐφιλέτο Τιμοθέῳ Κ[υ]δαθε[ναίῳ].
15	ΗΙΙΙ	ΗΠ	οἰκία ἐς Σεμαχιδ[όν]
	ΗΙΙΙ	ΗΠ	χορίον ἐγ Γα[ργετῶ]
	ΗΗΙΙ	ΗΗΠ	χορίον ἐμ Μυ[ρρινόττει καὶ κῆπ]ος [κ]αὶ [ο]ικία
	ΙΙΙ	Δ	χορίον [ἐν Ἀ]φιδ[ναίῳ] κεφάλαιον σύμπαν: ΗΗΗΗ[ΔΔΔ]Η
20			κεφ[άλ]αιον ἀμφοτέρο ΠΗΗΗΔΙΙΙ vacat vacat vacat lacuna
			[. . . ⁶ . . .] καὶ εἰκο[στῇ τῆς πρυτανείας] Ἀχσιόχο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῳ Σκαμβονίδῳ· ΗΠΔΔΔΔΠ κεφ[άλ]αιον τούτου Ἀδειμάντο [τῷ Λευκολοφίδῳ Σκαμβονίδῳ].
25	ΗΗ	ΗΠΔΔ	Σάτ[υρος] κεφάλαιον —

κεφάλαιον σύ[μπαν· --]
 τάδε ἐπράθε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο[χίδος -- ς πρυτανεύουσες]
 ὁ γ<δ>οὶ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρ[υτανείας].
 30 III ΔΔ Ἀχσιόχο τῷ Ἀ[λκιβιάδο Σκαμβονίδο].
 ἡ ἐπ[ικαρπία? --]
 ταῖς τ --
 Οἰονίῳ τῷ Οἰονο[χάρῳ Ἀτεν]
 ἐκ τῆ[ς --]
 35 III ΔΔ† – φσνθ ---
 ἀμφ ---
 πέμπτει καὶ εἰ[κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας].

Although Pittakys recognized that these two fragments were from the same stele,⁶¹ and although the statement was repeated by Rangabé,⁶² they have been published separately in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873) and all subsequent publications. The original thickness of the two fragments is identical. Both exhibit the same dressing along the original left edge. The indentations from the left edge of sales price, sales tax, and various entries are identical. Even more conclusive evidence, to my mind and to those who examined the stone with me, is the fact that the backs of both pieces have been worn smooth in exactly the same way.

Fragment *a* has had an interesting history. It was found by Pittakys in 1834 in a house next to the Church of Hypapanti. The house was sold to a Mr. Kantakouzenos who demolished it and transferred the stone to his house outside the Kerameikos. Pittakys' unannotated majuscule text appeared in 1835 (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 38). Rangabé in 1842 republished this majuscule text but expressed his regrets that the copy was so defective that any interpretation based on it must be more or less conjectural.⁶³ He had not seen the stone. Pittakys in 1852 defended his text and reported that the stone was now lost and perhaps built into the Kerameikos house. He surmised this because other antiquities, purchased by Kantakouzenos, had been presented to the museum, but this stone was not among them. The Pittakys text of 1852 differed in several respects from that of 1835. When Kirchhoff in 1873 published volume I of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, he printed both texts of Pittakys with the following comment: "Edidit ex sui apographi fide Pittakys l'ancienne Athènes p. 38, iterum ex eodum vel adcuratius inspecto vel etiam de coniectura correcto Eph. 1125." Some time after, Koehler discovered the stone, and Kirchhoff published Koehler's text in *I.G.*, I, Suppl. p. 35. Koehler's transcription has been reproduced by more recent editors with little change and the stone today remains in the same condition as when he saw it.

Pittakys' texts, both those of 1835 and of 1852, contain many letters which were not seen by Koehler and have been entirely neglected by subsequent editors. Particu-

⁶¹ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1853, no. 1142, p. 689.

⁶² *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 2254, p. 954.

⁶³ For a similar story concerning another stone, see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 427.

larly, in lines 16-20, Pittakys reported much more than Koehler saw. What consideration should be given to these letters? When Kirchhoff published Koehler's text in *I.G. Suppl.*, he admitted Pittakys' accuracy in these words: "Adparet iam Pittakin in titulo transcribendo longe maiore adcuratione usum esse, quam ego suspicatus eram." With the exception of a few figures in the sales tax and two names, Pittakys' text was essentially correct. But editors subsequent to Pittakys have ignored the thirty or more letters and numerals he read in the lower right part of the fragment. These letters may have been lost when the stone was removed after being used as a door frame. The stone is broken away below the socket. Pittakys when he could not discover the stone had opined that it had been built into the house of Kantakouzenos, and it may have been at this time that our piece was used as a door jamb. As to the difference in the two transcriptions of Pittakys, it may be suggested that he saw the stone only once—in 1835. His earlier publication *L'ancienne Athènes* is an extremely poor printing job, with many errors in the descriptive parts. Letters were used for numerals; for example, a tau printed on its side was used for the sign of a drachma. The corrections which Pittakys made in 1852 apply largely to the spacing of the letters and gaps for lost letters. Pittakys may reasonably have used the occasion of a second printing to make corrections from his original 1835 transcription.

The part of the text which was seen only by Pittakys has been underlined in our text of lines 17-20.

Koehler in *I.G. I, Suppl.*, p. 35, reported the top surface as original. Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 328) rejected this: "Superne margo Koehl. Vix credimus. Multa desiderantur." Along the entire width of our fragment the original top is preserved with the same fine picking as on the left side. The text of our stele continued the text from another stele which must have been placed beside it.⁶⁴ Hiller was apparently misled by the lack of a heading.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΑΛ COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 1: For *δρύνων*, an oak coppice, see Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., s. v. Cf. Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, p. 256. The next noun was read by Pittakys as ΠΥΙΝΟΝ; by Koehler as ΗΝΟΝ; and all that can be seen on the stone today is what was read by Koehler. Kirchhoff restored the word *πρινών*, an *ilex grove*; Hiller the word *πρίνον* (?). Both words are too short, however, for the text. The distance between the kappa of *καὶ* and the first preserved upright stroke of our word is 0.04 m.; which is space for five letters, according to the text at the beginnings of lines 1-3. The upright of the kappa was inscribed above the second iota of the word *πίθοι*; the vertical stroke is above the center of the nu of the word *ἐν*. Accordingly, I have suggested the word [*πυτ*]ϋνών, a *pine grove*, of analogous

⁶⁴ Cf. our Stele II.

formation to *δρῦνών*. This reading has the advantage, too, of taking into account what Pittakys read as upsilon and iota as such.

Line 4: Hiller has read the first numeral as the sign for five thousand drachmas (dotted). The numeral is an unmistakable five talents, and it has been so read by some earlier editors although corrected to 𐀅 .⁶⁵

Line 6: The left hasta of the initial gamma is preserved on the stone.

Line 11: The sales price was cut out of alignment, one letter space to the left. Previously, it has been read as 𐀅 . But the stone is damaged, and 𐀅 is an equal possibility epigraphically. Moreover, the numeral for the larger sum is in conformity with the sales tax of a drachma.

Line 16: The entry of this line was read by Pittakys as $\text{XOPIONE}\Lambda\Lambda\text{ANI}$ —. Koehler and Hiller have read $\chi\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \epsilon\gamma \Gamma\alpha[\rho\gamma\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota$. There is visible today only the gamma after $\epsilon\gamma$.

Line 17: Pittakys read $\text{XOPION EMMYN.}—\text{N.TO}\Sigma.\text{AIIKIA}$. When the stone was rediscovered, Koehler could see only XOPIONE —.

Line 18: Pittakys: $\text{XOPION}\Phi\text{IDIANOY}$.

Line 20: The fourth letter is in the form of an Attic gamma (Λ); the fifth is a delta. I suspect the stonecutter intended to inscribe an alpha and an Attic lambda, but placed the cross-bar on the wrong letter.

Line 21: The present condition of the stone would permit the reading of only one certain letter in this line, the epsilon which is inscribed above the second omicron of line 22. The text of Pittakys, the first editor, shows the kappa and omicron as certain, the other letters as doubtful.

Line 29: Previous editors have failed to note that the delta was omitted from the word $\delta\gamma\delta\acute{o}\epsilon\iota$. Pittakys (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, no. 1142) alone saw the word had only five letters, but he omitted the omicron and indicated the delta as inscribed.

Line 31: After the second epsilon, there is the upper left corner of what might epigraphically be a pi or an epsilon.

Line 32: After the *ταῖς*, Pittakys reported a tau, which subsequent editors have omitted.

Line 35: Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., index this as follows: “ $\psi\nu\theta$ [. . incomplete word in *I.G.*, I², 327.” Hiller (*ad loc.*) weighed the possibility of the word being $\psi\hat{\nu}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, a parallel form of $\psi\epsilon\hat{\nu}\delta\omicron\varsigma$.

XI. (Plate 84). Small fragment, preserving the original top, discovered in 1859 north of the Parthenon.

Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1860, no. 4032; *I.G.*, I, 412; *I.G.*, I², 333.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kirchner in Dittenberger's *S.I.G.*³, p. 130: “In lapide 𐀅 modo agnoscitur.” Dittenberger, himself, had reported in the second edition of *S.I.G.* that the numeral was five drachmas.

STELE XI

<p>--- 'Α[γκυ]λέθεν --- --- Πρ]οχσέννο καὶ 'Αρι --- ΕΣ..ΥΙΔΕΣ --- Δάδος 5 Σκίπων</p>	<p>...⁵ ...⁵... ἰδες Δεχσ --- Γλαν[κ ---]</p>
--	--

Hiller had two reasons for listing this inscription with the poletai records: first, because it is a list of names of slaves; and second, the fact that he identified the name to be restored in line 1 of this inscription with one of the profaners of the Mysteries.

Kirchhoff regarded the inscription as a dedication. Since the Polystratos (*P.A.*, 12074) who appeared as a profaner in the list of Andromachos was known to be from the deme Ankyle, his name was restored by Hiller in line 1 on the basis of identity of demotics, an identification too tenuous for us to adopt, especially since two other demotics may with equal plausibility be restored in the epigraphical text. There is, moreover, no evidence that the bearers of the two names in line 2 are to be regarded as relatives of Polystratos, nor were their names included in the list of Andromachos. Accordingly, although the inscription is republished here, it must be noted that nothing in the text makes the association with the Hermokopidai poletai records secure.

The fragment contains a heading and a list of names of slaves. No prices appear. The heading occupies the first three lines and is written in larger letters (0.008 m.) than those of the catalogue of slaves (0.005 m.). The surface of the marble of the first three lines has been worn away, but traces of the letters remain. These are very clear for the first two lines, less so for the third. Only one letter, a sigma, has hitherto been read in this line but on a latex squeeze traces of several other letters appear. None of these can be read as certain; but the traces favor the letters reported in the text.

Line 5: For Σκίπων, see Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Teil II, p. 18.

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- Ἀριστάναξ, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 35)
- Ἀρίσταρχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 36)
- Ἀριστείδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 37)
- Ἀριστεύς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 38)
- Ἄριστι(---), *saec.* V *a.*, incised on bottom of a black-glazed vase, 99 (no. 132) and Pl. 38
- Ἀριστίων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 39)
- Ἀριστόβουλος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 40)
- Ἀριστόγειτος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 41)
- Ἀριστογένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 42)
- Ἀριστόδαμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 43)
- Ἀριστοκλῆς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 44)
- Ἀριστοκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 45)
- Ἀριστόμαχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 46)
- Ἀριστομβροτίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 47)
- Ἀριστομένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 48)
- Ἀριστομένης: [κα]ταπύγ[ων] Ἀριστομέ[νης], on an Attic black-glazed skyphos, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 220 (6) and Fig. 2

- [Ἄ]ριστομέ[νης], *saec.* II *p.*, father of Σ[ω]κρά[της] 179-180 (4)
- Ἄριστομένης Ἀλεξία Ἑρμογενής, *saec.* V *a.*, 148 (1) and Pl. 50
- Ἄριστόνομος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 49)
- Ἄριστόπολις, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 50)
- Ἄριστοφάνης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 51)
- Ἀρίστρατος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 52)
- Ἀρίστων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 53)
- Ἀριστωνίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 54)
- Ἀρμοσίλας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 55)
- Ἀρχέμβροτος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 56)
- Ἀρχίβιος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 57)
- Ἀρχίδαμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 58)
- Ἀρχιλαΐδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 59)
- Ἀρχίνος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 60)
- Ἀρχιος, to be deleted from list of Rhodian fabricants, 125
- Ἀρχοκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 61)
- Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἰλαρίωνος, *saec.* III *p.*, 179 (3 5)
- Ἀστυμήδης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 62)
- Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) : see Ἀγαθόπους
- [Ἀὐρήλιος] Διονύσιος Ἀχαρν(εύς), *ca. a.* 220-240 *p.*, [ὀπλομάχος διὰ βίου (?)] — ἔτος E, 178 (2 7)
- Αὐτοκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 63)
- Βάκχ[ιος], eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 64) and Pl. 42 (III b), cf. 125: [Ἐ]πὶ Βακχ[ίου] and [B]ακχίου
- Γόργων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 65)
- Δαήμων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 66)
- Δαμαίνετος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 67)
- Δαμᾶς, father of Δαμᾶς, *saec.* III *p.*, 179 (3 2)
- Δαμᾶς), *saec.* III *p.*, 179 (3 2)
- Δαμάτριος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 68)
- Δαμόθεμις, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 69)
- Δαμοκλῆς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 70)
- Δαμοκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 71)
- [Δα]μοσθένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 71 bis)
- Δαμοῦσα Καλλιστράτου (1), *saec.* II/III *p.* from Lakonia, 169 (17) and Pl. 51
- Δάμων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 72)
- Δημήτριος (Μιλήσιος), *saec.* I *a.*, father of Ἀρετή, 180-181 (6)
- Διονυσία, of Christian date from Hermione, 158 (12) and Pl. 50
- Διονύσιος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 73)
- Διονύσιος Ἀχαρν(εύς) : [Ἀὐρήλιος] Διονύσιος Ἀχαρν(εύς), *ca.* 220-240 *p.*, [ὀπλομάχος διὰ βίου (?)] — ἔτος E, 178 (2 7)
- Δορκυλίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 122 (no. 74)
- Δράκων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 75) and Pl. 44, cf. 125: [Ἐ]πὶ Δράκοντι[s]
- Δρομοκλῆς ἐκ Κοίλης, *saec.* II *p.*, father of Μενεκρατίς, 179-180 (4)
- Δωρόθεος Ἀργεῖος, sculptor *saec.* V *a.*, 148 (1) and Pl. 50
- Εἰλεισός, *saec.* III *p.*, father of Ἀὐρ. Ἀγαθόπους, 179 (3 4)
- Ἐξάκεστος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 76)
- [Ἐπιγένης] (Κυδαθηναεύς), *fin. saec.* V *a.*, father of Νικίας, 177 (1 3)

- Ἐπικρά[της], fabricant of a Rhodian amphora:
Ἐπικρά[τευσ], 125 (no. 64 a)
- Ἐπίχαρμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 76 bis)
- Ἐρμίας, of Christian date from Hermione, 157 (10) and Pl. 50
- Ἐστιαῖος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 77). See also Ἐστιεῖος, Ἰστεῖος
- Ἐστιεῖος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 77). See also Ἐστιαῖος, Ἰστεῖος
- Εὔαθ[λος] Ἀριδ[ύλου], from Samothrake, 20 note 100 (the restoration of *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 231 is questioned)
- Εὔανωρ, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 78)
- Εὔδαμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 79)
- Εὔδωρος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 80)
- Εὐθύνομος (Κόπρειος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [Na]υσικράτης, 175 4
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- Εὐκλείδας Χάρμευς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 81) and Pl. 43, cf. 125
- Εὐκλῆς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 82)
- Εὐκλ[ῆ]ς καταπύγων, on an Attic roof tile, *post med. saec.* V *a.*, 220 (5)
- Εὐκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 83)
- Εὐκρατίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 84)
- Εὐξί[³⁻⁴] (Παιονίδης), *saec.* III/II *a.*, father of [Θο]ύδιππος, 175 7
- [Εῦ]πίεθης Θρασίππου Κόπρειο[ς], *saec.* III/II *a.*, 175 3
- Εὐπόλεμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 84 bis), cf. 126: Ἐπ' ἱερέως Εὐπολέμ[ον]
- Εὐριπίδης, the poet, 193 8
- Εὐσέβης Τ[---], *saec.* III *p.*, 179 (3 7). Perhaps the patronymic was Π[---]
- Εὐφορος Λύωνος (2) Ἐρμονεύς, *ca. a.* 370 *a.*, 150 (4)
- Εὐφρανорίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 85)
- Εὐφράνωρ, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 86)
- Ε[ὐφρόν]ιος, on an Attic vase *ante a.* 460 *a.*, 218 (3)
- Εὐφρων, fabricant of a Rhodian amphora, 128
- Εὐχάριστος, *saec.* III *p.*, father of [-^{ea.5}-]ιος, 179 1
- Ἐχέβουλος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 87)
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- Ἡραγόρας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 89)
- Ἡρακλείδης, *saec.* III *p.*, father of Καλανδίων, 179 (3 3)
- Ἡρακλεῦδωρος (Μαραθώνιος), *saec.* I/II *p.*, father of Λυσίμαχος, 180 (5)
- Θάρσανδρος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 92). See also Θέρσανδρος
- Θαρσίπολις, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 90)
- Θεαίδητος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 91). See also Θήδητος
- Θειοδοσία, on an Attic black-glazed skyphos *med. saec.* IV *a.*, 221 note 5 a
- Θεμίσων: Γ. Αἴλιος Θεμίσων Θεοδότου υ(ἰός), *init. saec.* II *p.*, victor at festivals, 192 2-3
- Θειοδοσία: see Θεοδοσία
- Θεόδοτος, *saec.* I/II *p.*, father of Γ. Αἴλιος Θεμίσων, 192 3
- Θέρσανδρος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 92). See also Θάρσανδρος
- Θέστωρ, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 93)
- Θευγένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 94)
- Θεύδωρος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 95)
- Θευφάνης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 96)
- Θήδητος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 91). See also Θεαίδητος
- [Θο]ύδιππος Εὐξί[³⁻⁴] Πα[ο]νίδη[ς], *saec.* III/II *a.*, 175 7-8

- [Θράσιπ]πος Φιλίνου (2) [Κόπ]ρε[ιος], *saec.* III/II *a.*, 175 1; Θράσιππος Κ[όπ]ρειος, father of [Ξε]νίς (perhaps [Ξε]νίς), 175 6; Θράσιππος (Κόπρειος), father of [Φι]λί[ν]ος (3) and [.]πείθης (perhaps [Εὐ]πείθης), 175 2-3
Θρασύδαμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 97)
Θρασύμαχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 98)
- Τασικράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 99)
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Τεροκλῆς (Φιλαΐδης), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Πατροκλῆς, 51
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Τούδας ὁ προδότης: [Ἰούδα] τοῦ προδότ[ου], 159 (14) and Pl. 50
Τποκλῆς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 101 bis)
Τστέιος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 77). See also Ἑστιαῖος, Ἑστιεῖος
- Καλανδίων Ἡρακλείδου, *saec.* III *p.*, 179 (3 3)
Καλλιάναξ, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 102)
Καλλικράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 103)
[Καλλικρά]της, orator of Pandionis, *paullo p.* 403/2 *a.*, 177 (1 2-3)
Καλλικράτης (Μεγαλοπολίτας), *saec.* I *a.*, father of Φιλοκλῆς, 154 (5) and Pl. 50
Καλλικράτης Μενεκλείδα, *saec.* II/III *p.* from Lakonia, 169 (17) and Pl. 51
Καλλικρατίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 104)
- Καλλίξεινος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 105)
Καλλίστρατος (1), *saec.* II/III *p.* from Lakonia, father of Δαμοῦσα, 169 (17) and Pl. 51
Καλλίστρ[ατο]ς (2) Μ[ε]νεκλε[ίδ]α, *saec.* II/III *p.* from Lakonia, 169 (17) and Pl. 51
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Κλέαρχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 106)
Κλειτόμαχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 107). See also Κλιτόμαχος
Κλεάγορος Λύωνος (2) Ἑρμονεύς, *ca. a.* 370 *a.*, 150 (3) and Pl. 50
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Κλεόνεμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 110). See also Κλεώννυμος
Κλεύδικος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 108)
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Κλεύτιμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 109 bis), 126: Ἐπὶ Κλευτίμου
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Κληνόστρατος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 111). See also Κλενόστρατος
Κλιτόμαχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 107). See also Κλειτόμαχος
Κρατίδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 112)
Κρεσίλας Κυδωνιάτ[α]ς, sculptor *saec.* V *a.*, 149 (2) and Pl. 50
- Λαφείδης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 113)
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Λεωσθένης Μελιτεύς: [Τι. Κλ. Λεωσθένης Μελι]τεύς, προστάτης of epheboi *ca. a.* 220-240 *p.*, 178 (2 9)
Λύκων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 115) and Pl. 44 c, cf. 126: Ἐπὶ Λύκω[ν]ος

- Ἀύσανδρος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 116)
 Ἀνσίμαχος Ἡρακλεοδώρου Μαραθώνιος, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 180 (5)
 Ἀών (1) (Ἑρμιονεύς), *saec.* V *a.*, father of Ἀλεξίας (2), 149 (2) and Pl. 50
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 Μενεκλείδας: Τι(βέριος) [Κλα]ύδιος Μενεκλείδας, *saec.* II/III *p.* from Lakonia, 169 (17) and Pl. 51; father of Καλλικράτης and Καλλίστρατο(ς) (2) (Μ[ε]γκελ[ε]ίδ[α]), *ibid.*
 Μενεκρατὶς Δρομοκλέους ἐκ Κοίλης θυγ[άτηρ] Σω[κρά]τους τοῦ [Ἀ]ριστομέ[νους --- γυνή], *saec.* II *p.*, 179-180 (4)
 Μυτίων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 117)
 Ναύσικος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 118) and Pl. 44, cf. 126: [Ἐπὶ] Ναυσίκο[v]
 [Να]υσικράτης Εὐθυνόμου [Κό]πρειος, *saec.* III/II *a.*, 175 4-5
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 Νεικ[ία]ς Ν[ε]ικία, from Epidauros Limera *saec.* II *p.*, 171 (18) and Pl. 52.
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 Ξάνθιππος, *ca. a.* 476 *a.*, father of [Πε]ρικλῆ[ς], 99 (no. 131) and Pl. 38, cf. also 61
 Ξενάρετος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 123)
 [Ξε]ννίς (?) Θρασίππου Κ[οπ]ρείου, *saec.* III/II *a.*, 175 6
 Ξενοστρατος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 124)
 Ξενοφάνης (1), eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 125)
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 Πατροκλῆς Ἱεροκλέους Φιλαίδης, hipparch *saec.* IV *a.*, 51
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 Πειθιάδας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 132) and Pl. 43, cf. 126: Ἐπὶ Πειθιάδα
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 [Πε]ρικλῆ[ς] Ξανθίππου, on an ostrakon *a.* 443 *a.*, 99 (no. 131) and Pl. 38, cf. also 61
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 Πολυκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 137)

- Πολύχαρμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 138)
- Πρατοφάνης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 139)
- Προκοπ[ι---], of Christian date from Hermione, 156 (9) and Pl. 50
- Πρωτογένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 140) and Pl. 43, cf. 126-127: Ἐπὶ Πρωτογένεως
- [Πτ]ολεμαῖος, agonothetes at the Isthmian games, 192
- Πυθογένης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps, 123 (no. 141)
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- Πωῖνος: Πωῖνε, of Christian date from the Her-
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- Σθενέλας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
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- Σκέλα καταπνγ, on an Attic black-glazed skyphos
post med. saec. V a., 220 (7) with Fig. 2 and
Pl. 66 b
- Σιμίας, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 145)
- Σιμυλῖνος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 146)
- Σκυθα(---), *saec. V a.*, incised on bottom of a
semi-glazed bowl, 99 (no. 135) and Pl. 38
- Σοφοκλῆς, the poet, 193 9
- Στύρα[ξ], fabricant of a Rhodian jar, 126 (no.
115)
- Σύμμαχος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 147)
- [Σύντροφος Εὐκαρπί]δου ἐκ Κοίλης, secretary of
epheboi *ca. a. 220-240 p.*, 178 (2 8)
- Σώδαμος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 148)
- Σωκράτης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 149)
- Σωκράτης (Ἑρμείος), *saec. IV a.*, father of
Ἀντικράτης, 51
- Σω[κρά]της [Ἄ]ριστομέ[νους---], *saec. II p.*,
husband of Μενεκρατίς, 179-180 (4)
- Σωσίας καταπύγων, on a Greek vase *ante a. 460 a.*,
218 (3); Σωσ[ίας] καταπύγ[ω]ν, on a broken
vase from Cumae, 218 (4)
- Σωσικλῆς, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 150)
- Σωσίφιλος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 151)
- Σώστρατος, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 152)
- Σωχάρης, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
123 (no. 153)
- Τ[----] (?), *saec. III p.*, father of Εὐσέβης,
179 (3 7)
- Τειμαγόρας, eponym on Rhodian amphora
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- [Τελεσ]φόρος, kosmetes of epheboi, *ca. a. 220-
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- Τελέσων, eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps,
124 (no. 156)
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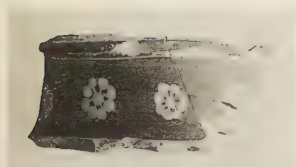
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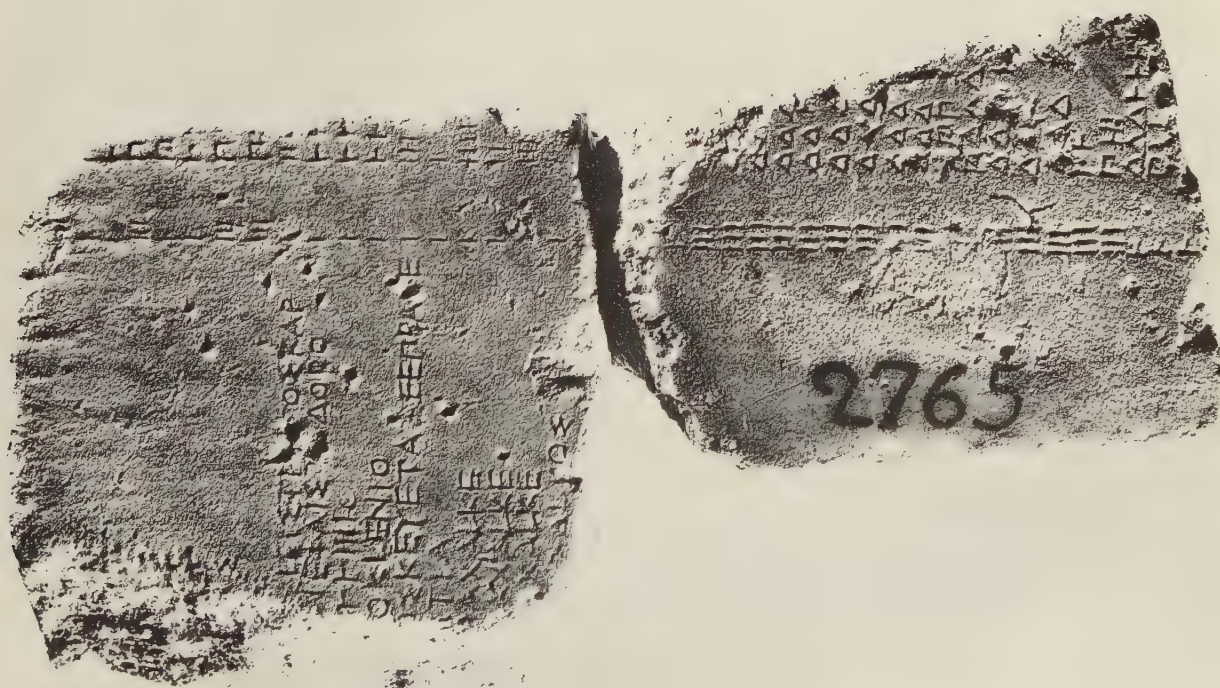
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b. Skyphos base with graffito, Inv. P 17,123, from the Athenian Agora



a. Side view, showing graffito, of Attic black-figured neck-amphora from the Gallatin collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
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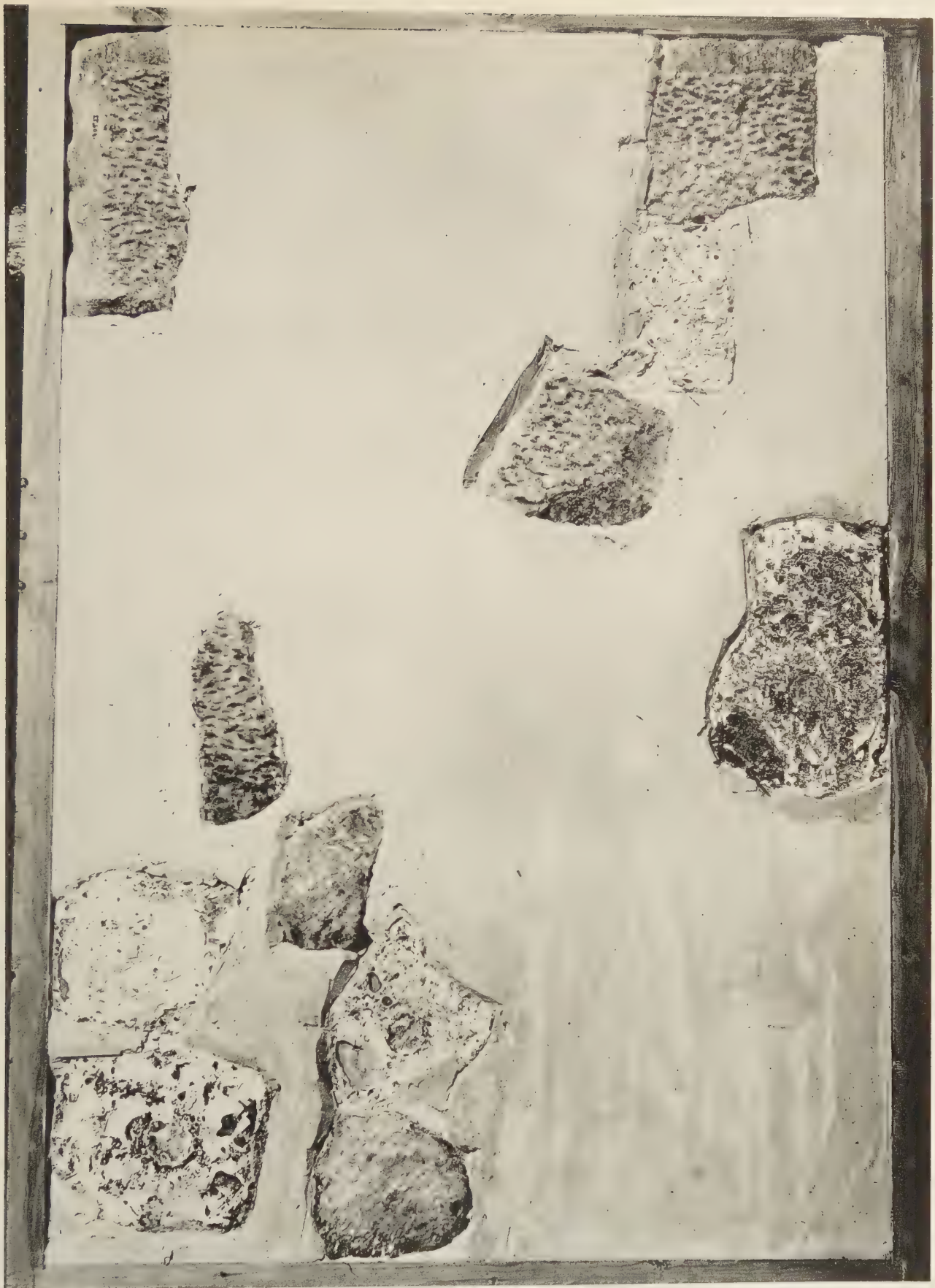
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Stele I, fragment *e*

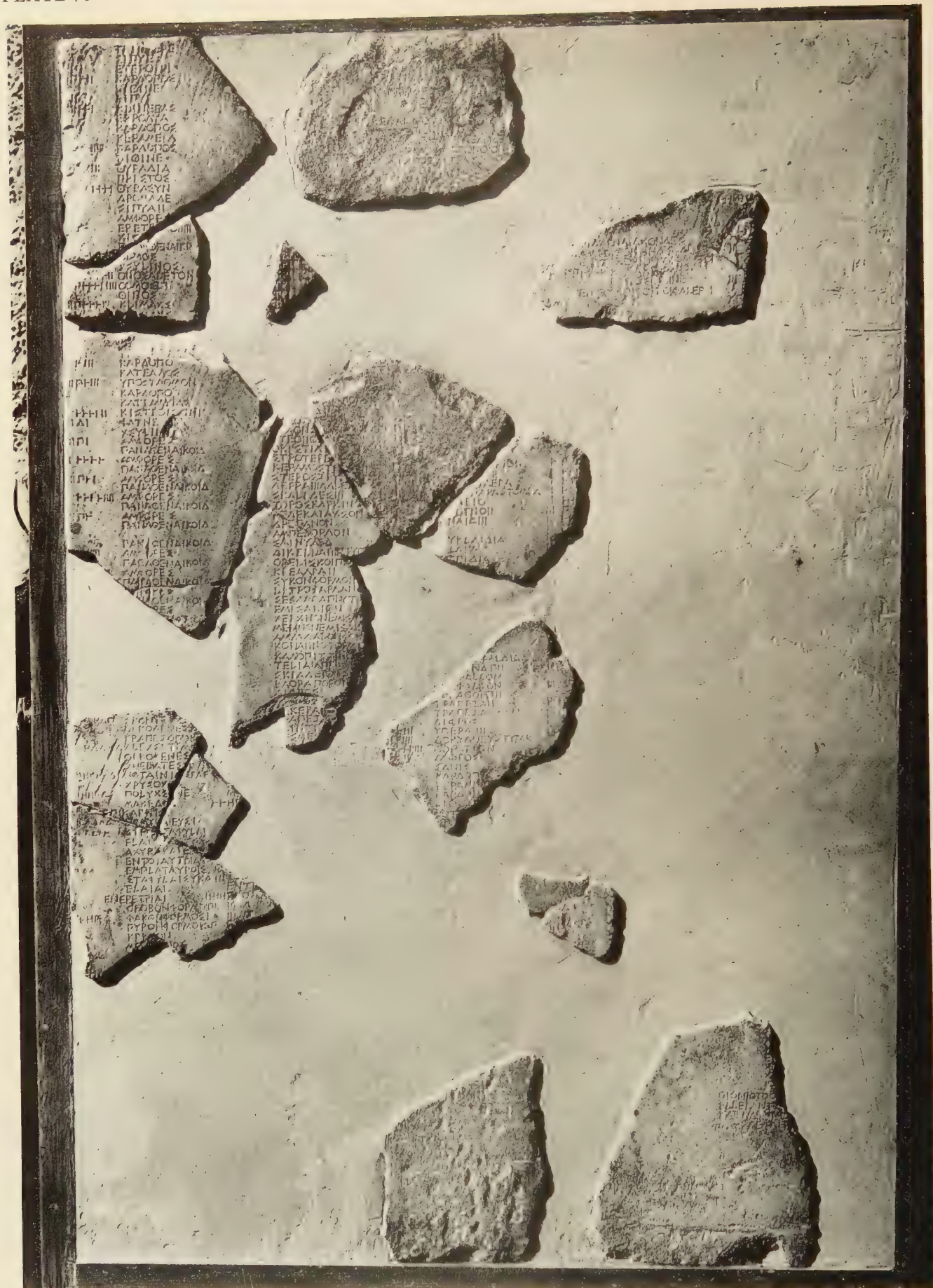


Stele I, reconstructed (obverse)



Stele I, reconstructed (reverse)

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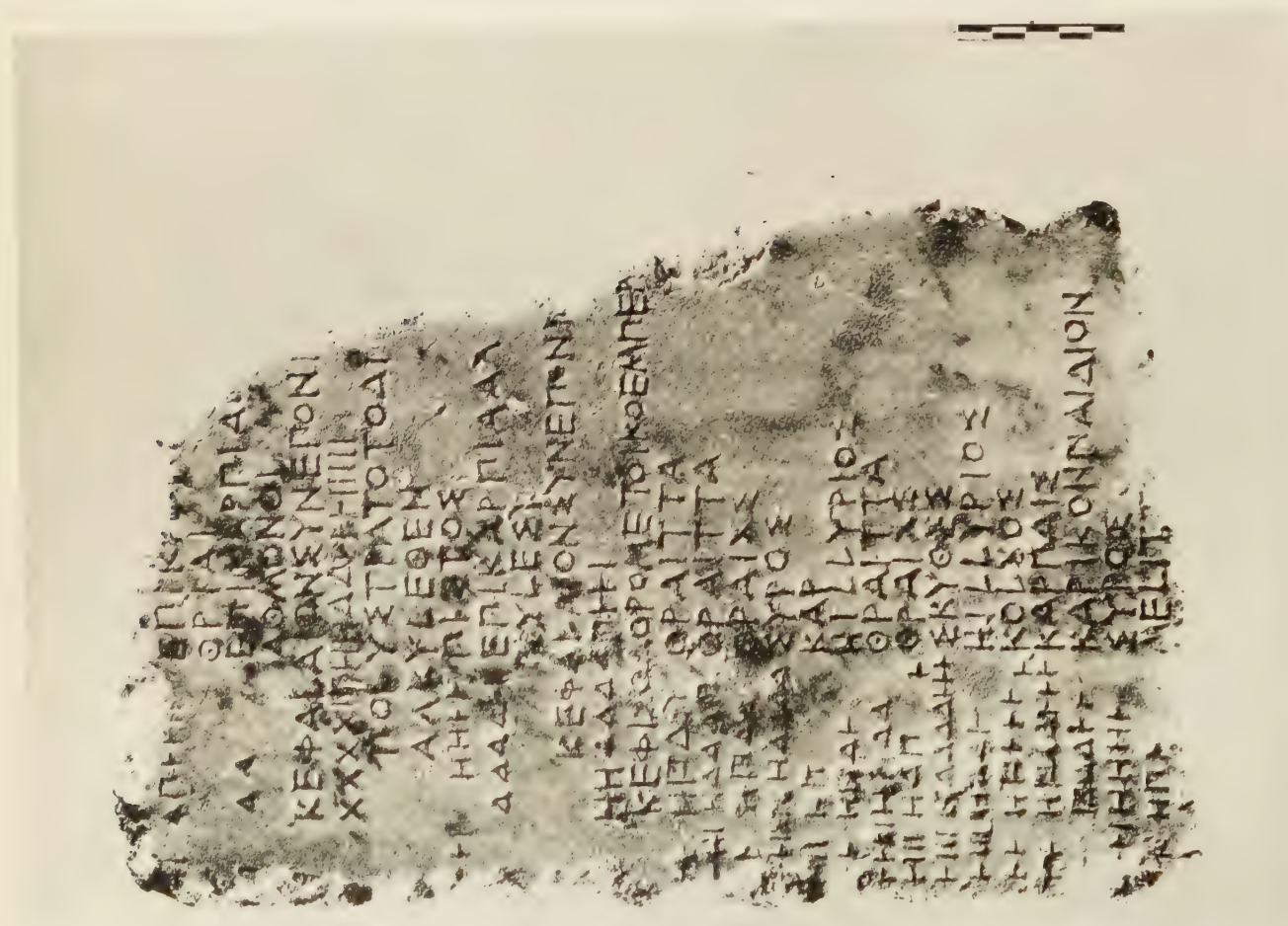
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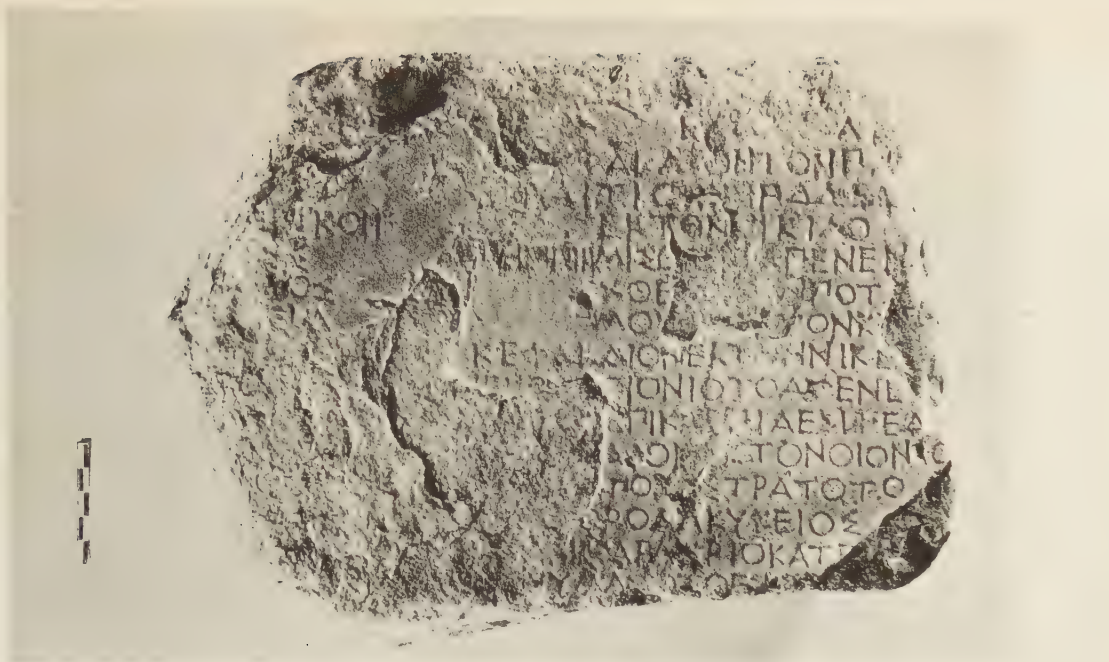
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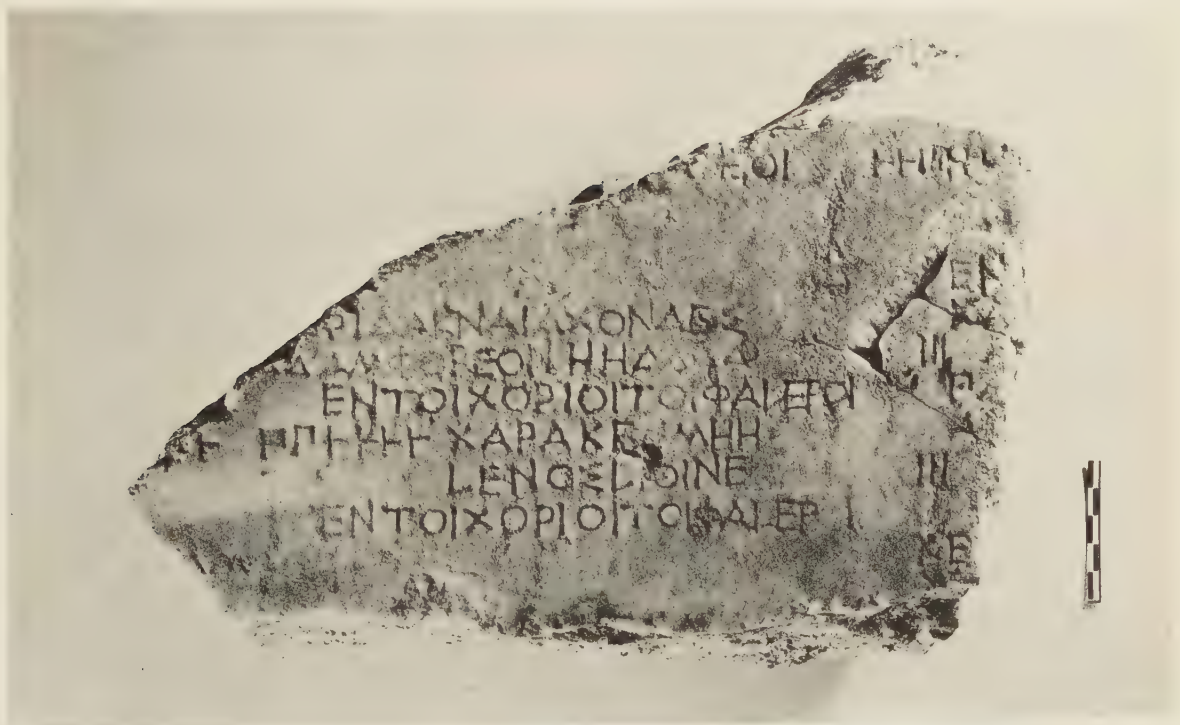
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Stele I, fragment *b*



Stele II, fragment *c*

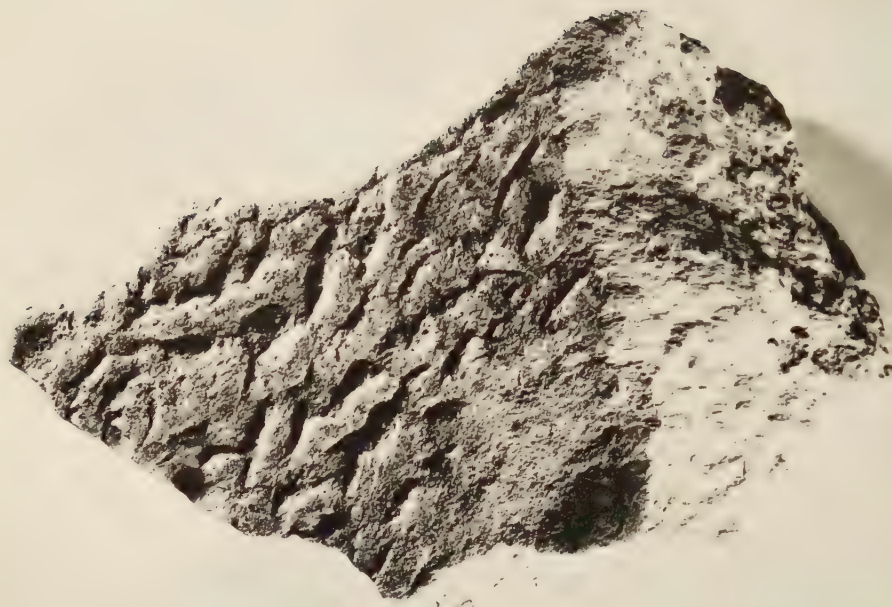


Stele II, fragment *g*

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT: THE ATTIC STELAI, PART I



Stele III (obverse)



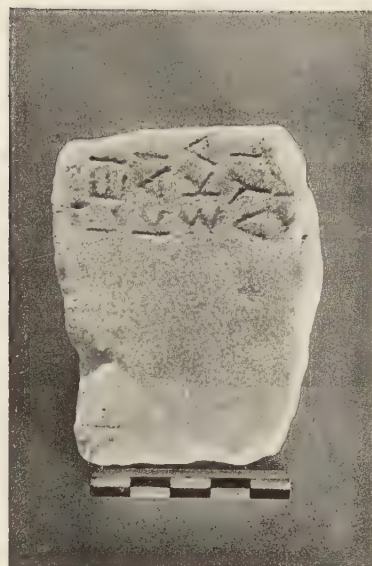
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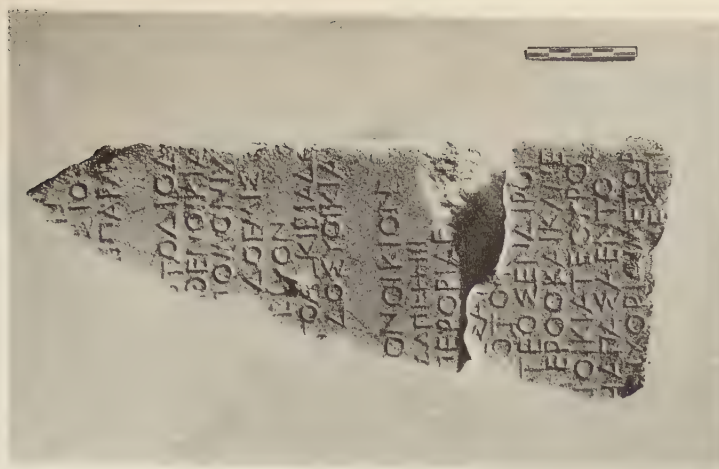
Stele II, fragment *i*



Stele IV, fragment *b*



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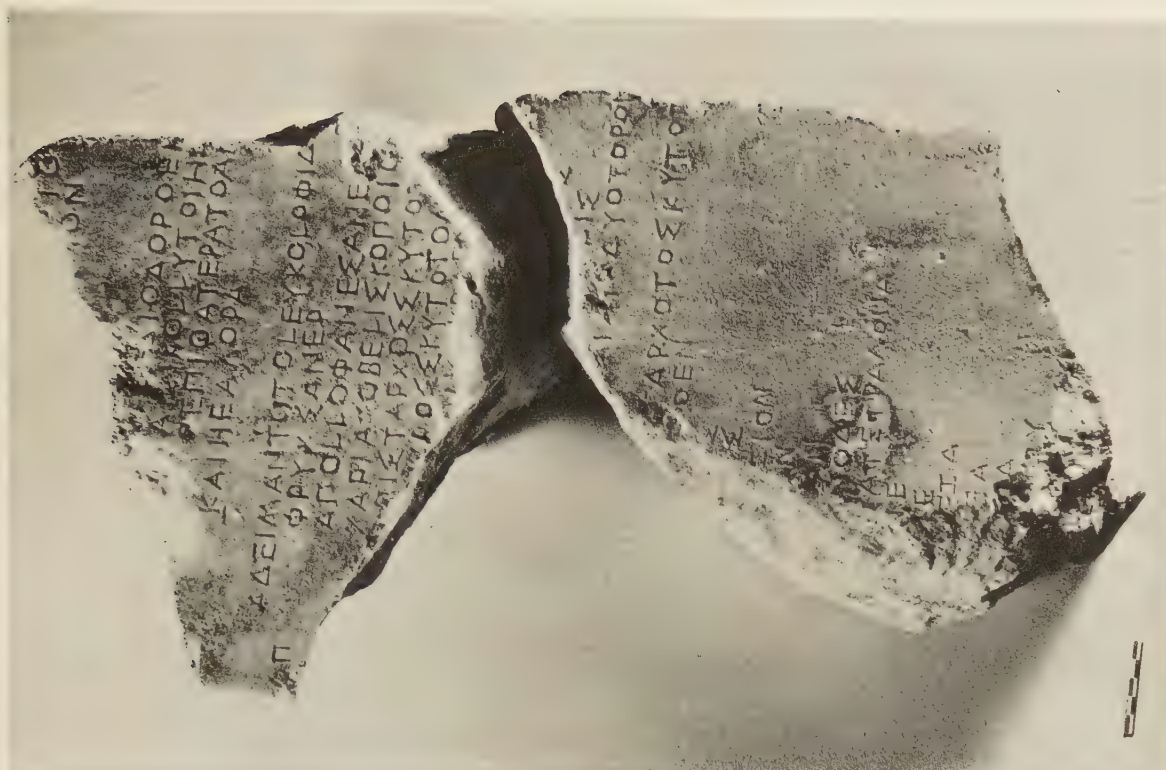
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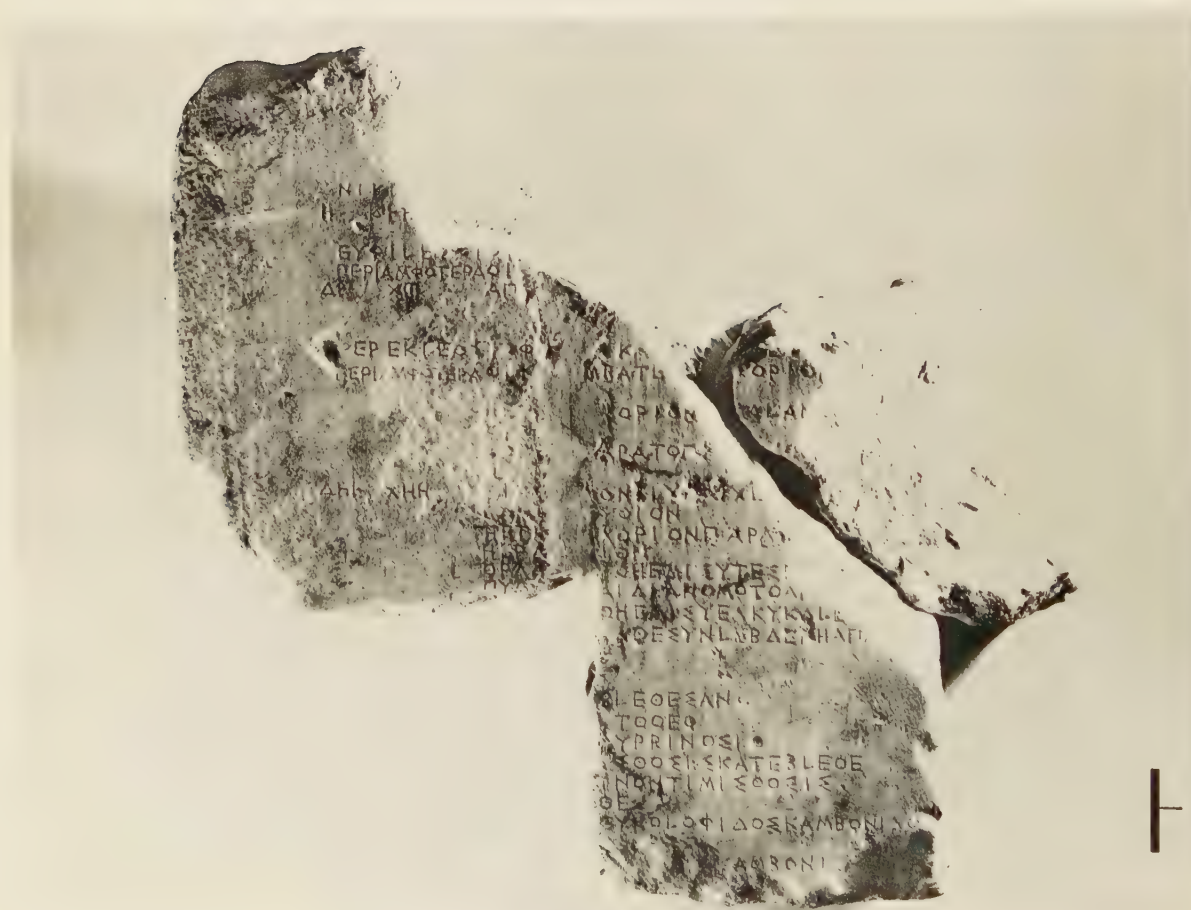
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Stele VI, fragment *b*



Stele VI, fragments *c*, *d*, and *e*



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Stele VI, fragment *a*



Stele VI, fragment *l*



Stele VI, fragment *k*



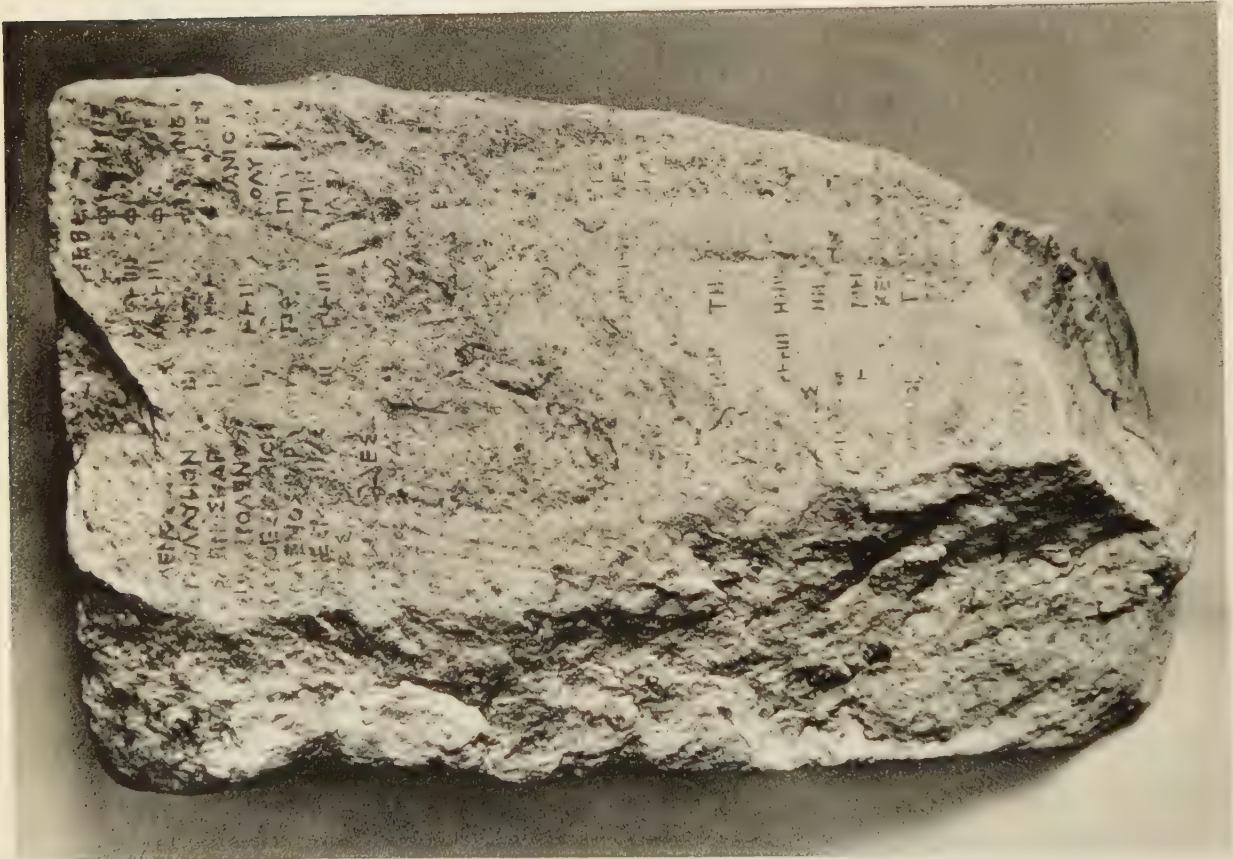
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Stele VI, fragment *o*



Stele VII, fragment a, left piece



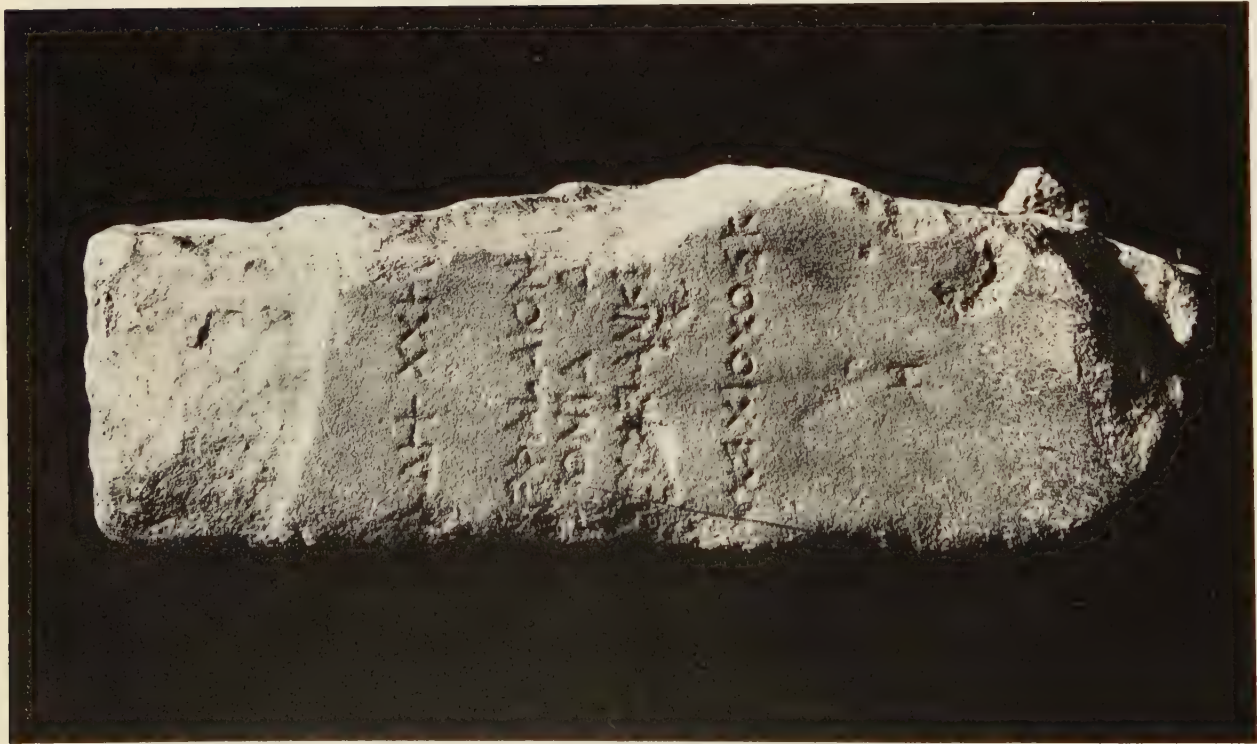
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Stele VII, fragment *a*, left piece (top)



Stele VII, fragment *a*, as joined

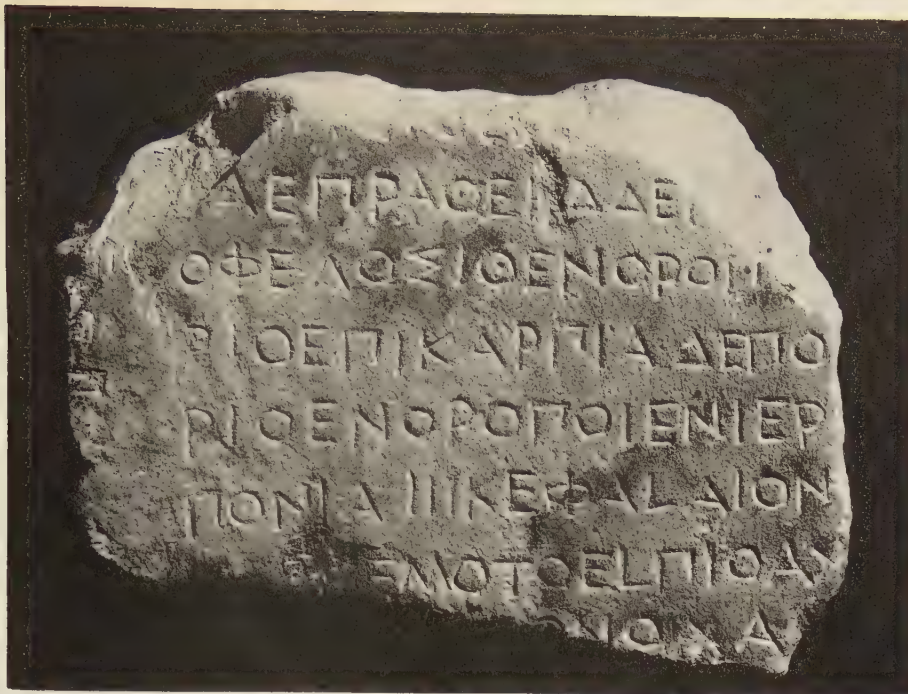


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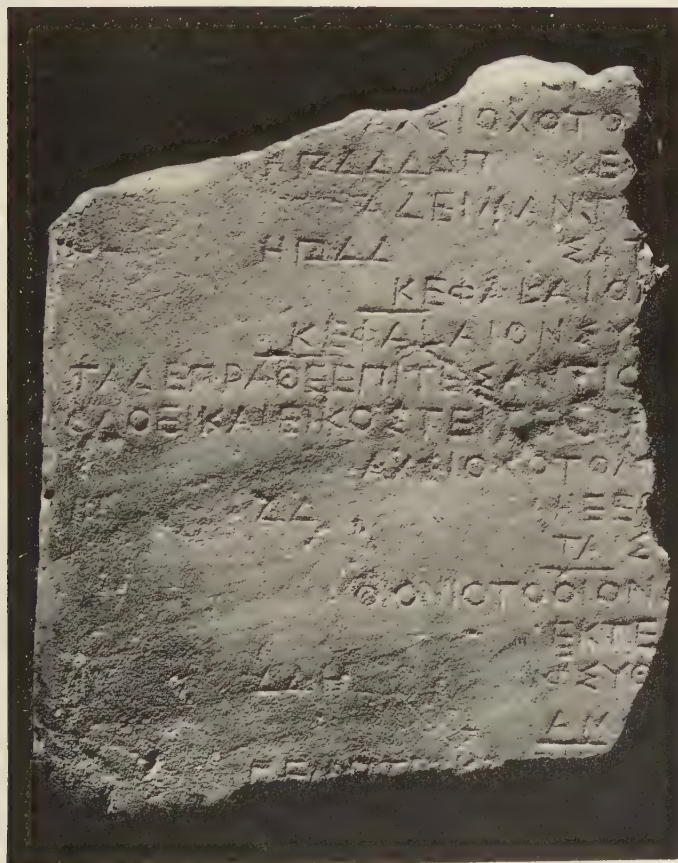


Stele VII, fragment *d*

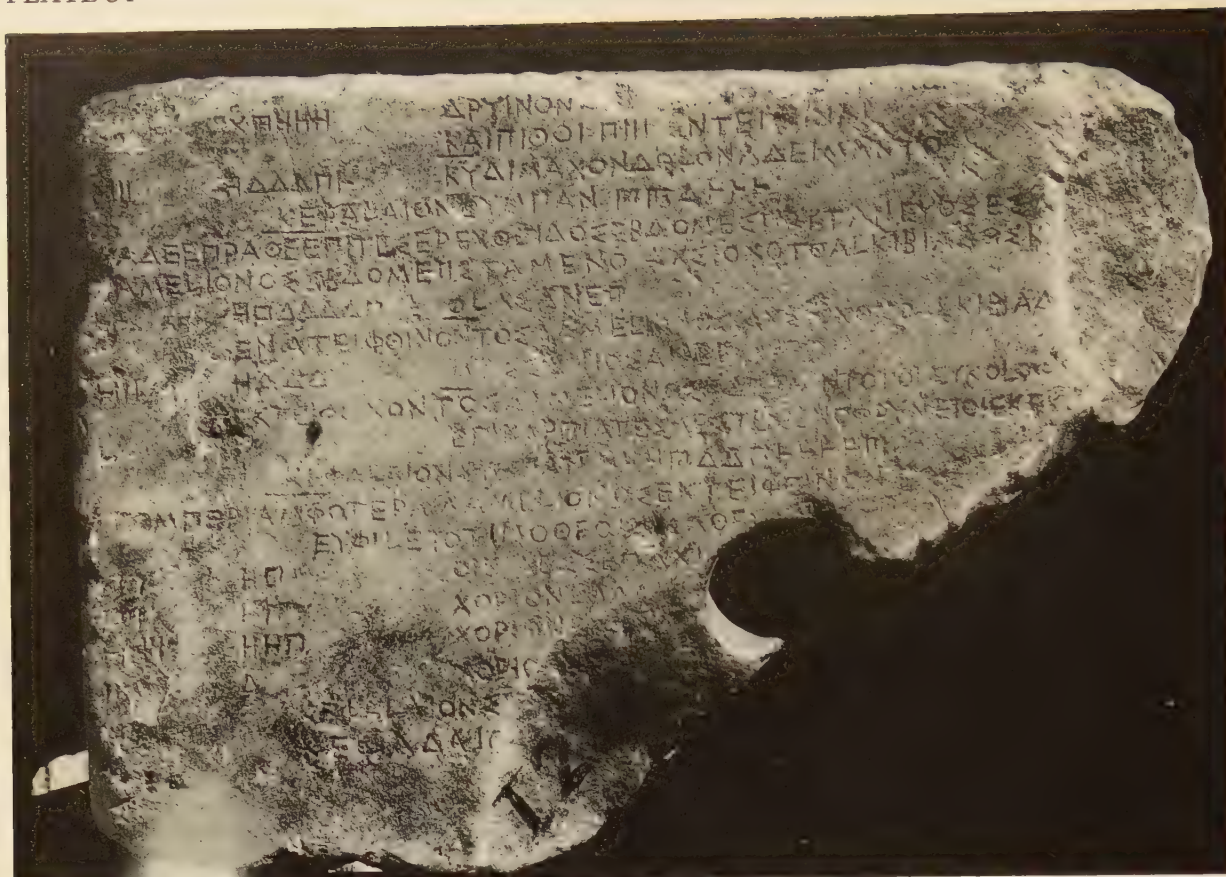
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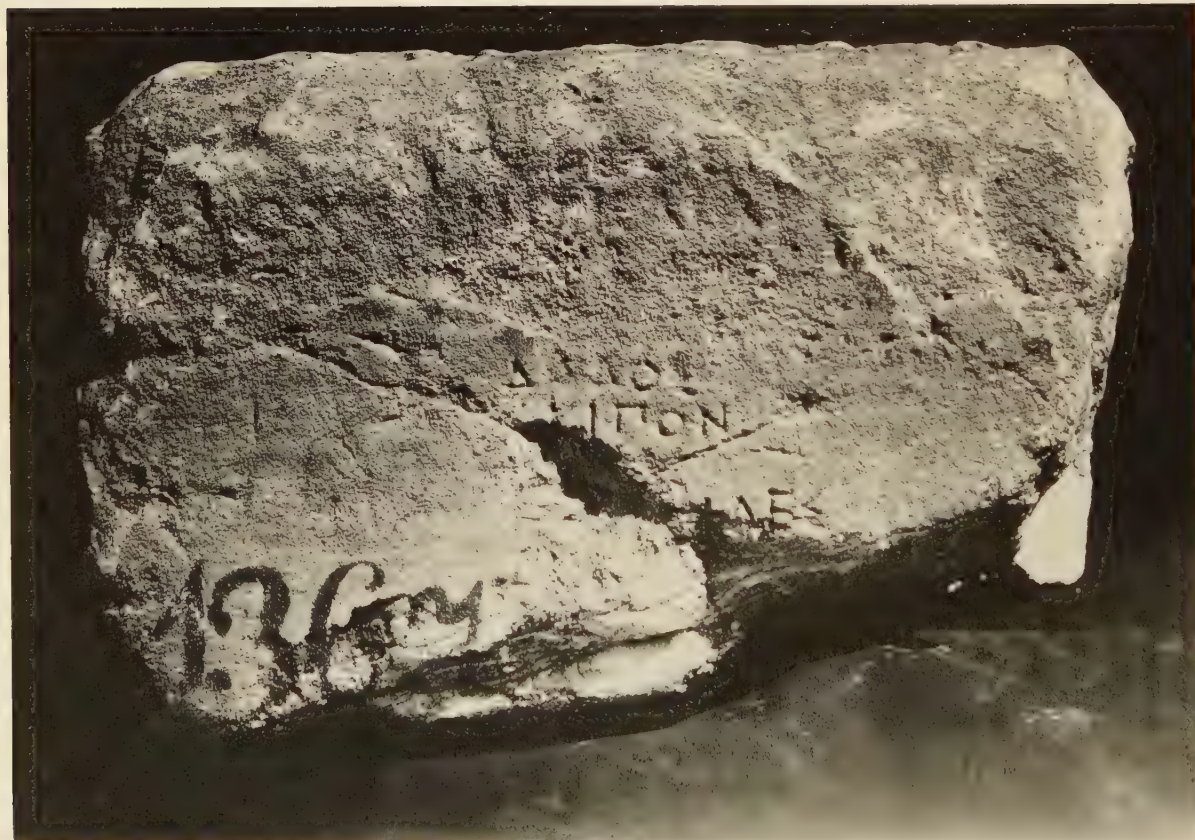
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W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT: THE ATTIC STELAI, PART I



Stele X, fragment *a*



Stele XI

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